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ETHNIC IDENTITY AMONG JAPANESE CANADIANS IN EDMONTON: THE CASE OF PRE-WORLD WAR II IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS

BY

YOKO URATA NAKAHARA

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

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SPRING 1991

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Date: 18 December 1990

To

Mikio

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores and describes the pattern of ethnic identity of Japanese Canadians in the greater Edmonton area who, or whose ancestors, immigrated to Canada before World War II, and explains their ethnic identity in terms of socio-economic status. A self-administered mail questionnaire survey was conducted in the summer of 1988 acquiring a sample of Japanese Canadians.

Previous studies showed conflicting views on the relationship between socio-economic status and ethnic identity - the assimilationist and the pluralist, but this relationship is better explained by recognizing various aspects of ethnic identity and the historical and social context where one's socio-economic status and ethnic identity are placed and form their meanings.

Japanese Canadians are members of a small visible minority in Canada, which holds a limited but prevailing egalitarian principle of individual meritocracy in the material order and cultural pluralism in the non-material order. It was hypothesized that among Japanese Canadians in the greater Edmonton area:

1. Individuals with higher socio-economic status would have lower ethnic identity in maintenance of primary contacts and cultural maintenance than individuals with lower socio-economic status.

2. Individuals with higher socio-economic status would have higher ethnic identity in ethnic self identification and association and group rights than individuals with lower socio-economic status.

The initial analysis revealed an overall low level of ethnic identity. In spite of high levels of knowledge and interest, respondents indicated low levels of involvement.

Many indicated passive attitudes despite their positive Japanese identity. The hypotheses on the relationships between socio-economic status and aspects of ethnic identity were generally supported with some exceptions. Most prominently, interest and involvement in Japanese culture such as arts, sports, and language were related to socio-economic status positively.

For the secondary analysis indices were constructed. Supra cultural identity and salience of ethnic identity had substantial positive relationships to socio-economic status. A disposition for redress and community participation related less strongly to socio-economic status. A further analysis showed that community participation and redress appeared to exist in separate realms. This suggests lack of political perspective among Japanese Canadians either because of middle-class cultural concern or because of low ethnic status.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of the Problem

There are conflicting views of the relationship between socio-economic status and ethnic identity. On the one hand, the assimilationist view holds that ethnic distinctiveness of minorities will and should disappear eventually in the larger society if they want to achieve social mobility. Some studies show the assimilationist pattern in that measures of ethnic identity tend to vary inversely with the individual's socio-economic status. On the other hand, the pluralist view holds that ethnic distinctiveness will not disappear as the assimilationists suppose. Studies supporting the pluralist view show that individuals with high socio-economic status do not necessarily lose their ethnic identity or even tend to have high ethnic identity.

A question arises as to why there are conflicting views regarding the relationship between ethnic identity and socio-economic status. Part of the question is answered when one looks at various definitions and components of ethnic identity that appear in the literature. Earlier studies generally considered ethnic identity as racial or socio-cultural characteristics of a group. Later studies shifted their focus to the psychological aspect of ethnic identity and the political aspect of ethnic identity that appear to persist after acculturation. As studies of ethnic identity developed, conceptual clarification was made between subjective approach - objective approach, internal identity - external identity, positive identity - negative identity, attitudinal indicator - behavioural indicator, and private sphere - public sphere (Isajiw, 1980; Makabe, 1978; Hughes and Kallen, 1974; Kallen, 1982; Epstein, 1978; Weinfeld, 1981). Aspects of ethnic identity can vary independently (Isajiw, 1978, 1980). Some aspects of ethnic identity may have an association with socio-economic status while others may not; or some may have a positive association while others may have a negative one. Studies showing

evidence of assimilation usually cite loss of traditional cultures and immigrant community life, whereas studies showing evidence of resurgence of ethnicity usually focus on subjective identity or a political action of an ethnic group. Thus, various views on the relationship between ethnic identity and socio-economic status are partly due to different aspects of ethnic identity which researchers focus on.

Another important factor to be considered in the study of ethnic identity is its historical and social context. Historically Anglo-conformity was the rule in Canada. While boasting the democratic ideal, Canada held as its rule the superiority of the British people and assimilation of minorities to the British culture and instituions (Kallen, 1982: 170). Racial minorities were considered inassimilable to the British blood and thus justifiably discriminated against (Kallen, 1982: 171, 173). The exclusion experience of the Japanese during and after World War II is an extreme case of discrimination. The Japanese were, however, systematically excluded from the privilege of Canadian society even before the war. Japanese received lower wages than their white counterparts, could not hold certain licensed occupations, and above all did not have the franchise until 1949. This obviously shows lack of equality of opportunity for ethnic minorities.

The social climate for ethnic matters has changed since the end of World War II, especially since 1960s, and in 1971 multiculturalism was adopted as the state policy. While receiving various criticisms such as promoting culture of minorities which would hinder their social mobility in the larger society, diverting a more important instrumental concern of minorities to their culture at an expressive level, and not recognizing linguistic rights of non-charter groups (Bullivant, 1981; Peter, 1981; Porter, 1980; Kallen, 1982), the multiculturalism policy has had an impact on promoting equality of status and culture of all ethnic groups (Breton, 1984). In the material sphere of life, equality of opportunity is now guaranteed for all Canadian citizens regardless of ethnic origin. Empirical evidence indicates that economic

inequality among ethnic groups still exists but appears insignificant (Darroch,1979; Li, 1988).

The relationship between socio-economic status and ethnic identity is thus better explained by recognizing various aspects of ethnic identity and the historical and social context wherein one's ethnic identity and socio-economic status are placed and form their meanings.

There are few recent studies or data available on Japanese Canadians in Edmonton. Historical studies showing how the Japanese Canadians suffered overt institutional racism contributed to conceptualization of the study, but it is difficult to grasp the recent picture of the Japanese Canadians only from descriptions of sufferings and solid community life of the past as Canadian society and Japanese Canadians have changed greatly since World War II.

Contrary to the popular view that members of an ethnic group come together, help one another and share a traditional culture, the tie among Japanese Canadians seemed weak in Edmonton in the early 1980s. The Japanese community was hard to locate since there was no geographical centre for either their residence or meetings in Edmonton. The only sign of a community was a community newsletter, which was filled with news of births, deaths, gatherings, exhibitions etc., but which remained non-political. Then in the mid 1980s news of the redress movement which had already started in other larger Japanese centres in Canada appeared in the community newsletter and soon meetings were being held.

There is a generational change among Japanese Canadians. Among those who immigrated to Canada before World War II and their descendants, a small number of Issei are alive, many Nisei are into retirement age, and Sansei and even Yonsei are now forming a large proportion of Japanese Canadians.[1] Unlike Nisei who had a direct contact

---

[1]The Japanese terms indicate generational status:
Issei - first generation, i.e., immigrants from Japan

with the Japanese culture from their immigrant parents, Sansei and the following generations know little about their ancestors and their culture. This is partly a consequence of generational loss of traditional culture common to many immigrant groups in the course of assimilation to the larger society, but in the Japanese case, exclusion experience greatly discouraged Nisei from expressing and transmitting their Japanese heritage to Sansei. Moreover, among Sansei intermarriage is more common than endogamy. About 80% of Sansei are intermarrying in Canada. Sansei may be the last generation of Japanese Canadians who can be identified with their physical characteristics. Thus assimilation and loss of Japanese culture appear to be progressing among Japanese Canadians. A question is raised, however. Are Japanese Canadians truely integrated in the society? If integration of all people regardless of ethnicity were easy, high mobility should lead to low ethnic identity. However, for visible minorities, the above pattern does not always apply, because prejudice and discrimination are a heavier burden for visible minorities.

As the legal restrictions on the Japanese Canadians were lifted and replaced with the franchise in 1949 and a more egalitarian social climate started to prevail, a chance for socio-economic mobility was given to the Japanese Canadians for the first time. As urban migration is common among those pursuing higher education and jobs, many moved to Edmonton from southern Alberta. An egalitarian social climate encourages ethnic group activity, whereas prejudice towards minorities makes them downplay their ethnicity. Multiculturalism as a state policy since 1971 has provided a legitimating framework for egalitarianism, and minority cultural and political rights. At the same

---

Nisei - second generation, i.e., children of Japanese immigrants
Sansei - third generation
Yonsei - fourth generation
The terms, especially the first three, were born and used because of high endogamy among the Japanese in the first and second generations in the pre-World War II era on the one hand, and because of particular socio-cultural characteristics of each generation as a result of acculturation on the other hand.

time achieved mobility gives minority individuals economic power and makes them aware of their rights, including political and cultural rights. The recent redress movement of Japanese Canadians may be seen as a consequence of their rising individual socio-economic status and of the multiculturalism policy.

The question of ethnic identity has caused various reactions among Japanese Canadians; from anger and avoidance to lack of interest and willingness to talk. It is a sensitive issue for some and simply an interesting one for others. The nature of ethnic identity among the Japanese Canadians thus appears diverse.

Thus, variations appear in terms of both ethnic identity and socio-economic status among contemporary Japanese Canadians, which was minimal before World War II on the West Coast where the Japanese had to support one another in their community because they had virtually no social mobility or protection in the larger society.

As previously discussed, recent studies show that subjective ethnic identity and a political action of ethnic groups remain after cultural assimilation and socio-economic achievement of individuals. The phenomenon is partly explained due to limited but prevailing egalitarianism regarding the non-material as well as material resources in society. Following the above idea, ethnic identity of Japanese Canadians is investigated. This study attempts to extend the previous research on the relationship between ethnic identity and socio-economic status to the case of Japanese Canadians in Edmonton. Could the previous studies supporting subjective ethnic identity and political ethnicity after cultural assimilation and economic integration to the larger society be applied to a Japanese Canadian case? The study is to assess the impact of socio-economic status upon ethnic identity of Japanese Canadians in Edmonton. It is stated:

> Among Japanese Canadians in Edmonton there are various degrees of ethnic identity and the degrees of ethnic identity can be explained, at least in part, by respondents' socio-economic status.

B. Plan of Thesis

The next Chapter II. describes the historical background of Japanese Canadians from the first immigration to Canada in the late nineteenth century to the present. The history reveals changes in Canadian society as well as changes in Japanese Canadians. On the one hand, Japanese Canadians are greatly acculturated to Canadian society as their families have been here for generations. On the other hand, Canada is a more egalitarian society than it was a century or even a few decades ago. These changes, however, have not made ethnic identity of Japanese Canadians disappear. The recent redress movement of Japanese Canadians indicates that ethnic identity still exists.

Chapter III. presents the theoretical framework for the study of ethnic identity and its relationship to socio-economic status. First, various aspects of ethnic identity are clarified along with changes in methodology and focus of study. Second, the social contexts for ethnic identity of Japanese Canadians as one of the "other" (i.e., non-charter and non-native) ethnic groups are explored. The egalitarian principle is honoured in Canada: individual social mobility in the material sphere of life is based on equality of opportunity and individual merit and multiculturalism guarantees equality of status and culture of ethnic groups. The principle is widely but not fully exercised: evidence shows that inequality due to ethnic discrimination exists and that ethnic status ranking exists. In the third section, studies of the relationship between socio-economic status and ethnic identity are reviewed. A thesis is developed from studies supporting or suggesting a positive relationship between socio-economic status as an independent variable and ethnic identity as a dependent variable.

In Chapter IV. the design and method of research is explained, and some demographic characteristics of the respondents are described.

Chapter V. presents the analysis and interpretation of data. First, frequency and strength of each component of ethnic identity and its correlation with socio-economic status are presented. Second, ethnic identity indices are constructed from some components of ethnic identity. Third, relationships of ethnic identity indices to socio-economic status and generation are examined and elaborated with a control variable. And fourth, relationships among the ethnic identity indices are examined and elaborated with a control variable.

Chapter VI. has conclusions from the previous chapters.

II. JAPANESE CANADIANS: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In this chapter the history of Japanese Canadians is reviewed to provide a background and context to the Japanese Canadian experience. The information will help us understand the patterns of ethnic identity among Japanese Canadians.

A. Japanese Canadians Today

Of the Canadian population, the number of people of Japanese origin is estimated at 54,505, of these 7,985 (14.6%) live in Alberta, 21,495 (39.4%) in British Columbia and 20,605 (37.8%) in Ontario according to the 1986 census of Canada (Kobayashi, 1989: 16, 23).[2] In Alberta 79.1% of people of Japanese origin were born in Canada, 2.8% immigrated before 1950, and 18.0% immigrated since 1950 (Kobayashi, 1989: 57).

According to the 1981 census, 81% of the population in Alberta speak English as a mother tongue, while only 44% are in fact of English origin (Driedger, 1989: 105). In Western Canada including Alberta "no group is in the majority, although the British form the largest group" (Driedger, 1989: 126). Over half (51%) of Albertans are of an ethnic origin other than English or French and loss of the traditional mother tongue of these non-charter groups is normally complete in three generations (Driedger, 1989: 105). It is in this regional context that Japanese Canadians in Alberta find themselves: in a predominantly Anglophone but ethnically diverse community.

The population of people of Japanese origin in Edmonton is estimated to be 1,940, the third largest in Alberta following Lethbridge (3,100) and Calgary (2,945)

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[2]Note: This includes multiple ethnicity. Up till the 1971 census of Canada only one ethnic origin traced through the father's side was acceptable, but multiple responses have been accepted since the 1981 census of Canada.

according to the 1986 census of Canada (Kobayashi, 1989: 23). Besides the post-World War II Japanese immigrants who tended to settle in urban areas, the descendants of pre-World War II immigrants have migrated from rural areas to urban areas for increased educational and occupational opportunities. Thus, according to the 1981 census of Canada, 92% of Japanese Canadians live in urban areas, while Alberta has the highest proportion (14%) of rural Japanese Canadians (Kobayashi, 1989: 20). Urbanization among younger generations, however, is in progress in Alberta: "In Alberta, there has been a very significant shift from the farming areas of the south to the two major cities of Calgary and Edmonton, with the result that the Southern Alberta population is now aging in place" (Kobayashi, 1989: 19). Another notable trend among Japanese Canadians is a high rate of intermarriage. According to Kobayashi: " In the under-37 age group, or the Sansei generation, about 90.2 per cent of women and 88.4 per cent men marry partners of another ethnicity" (1989: 33). Thus, urban migration and intermarriage characterize Japanese Canadians today and those in Edmonton are part of the trend.

B. Immigration and Formation of the Japanese Community: Pre-World War II Years

From the time the first Japanese immigrant arrived in British Columbia in 1877 until the application of the War Measures Act during World War II, the Japanese immigrants and their Canadian-born descendants were "industrious workers in the West Coast's primary occupations - fishing, agriculture, mining and lumbering" (Ujimoto, 1979: 338). Although exclusion during World War II represents its peak, the pre World War II history of Japanese Canadians was full of overt discrimination, especially in British Columbia where most of the Japanese Canadians resided before relocation.

As the number of Japanese immigrants increased, anti-Japanese sentiments grew among the whites in British Columbia. In 1907, part of a mass anti-Oriental

demonstration joined by 8,000 men turned into a mob which vandalized the oriental section of Vancouver. Adachi states:

> Anxieties over the immigrants, who were moving into a constantly restless, rapidly expanding area, had become endemic, but the portents of a brewing racial storm became an actuality in 1907 with the consolidation of anti-Japanese agitation among the industrial workers, whetted by newspaper stories and the province's politicians who, in discovering the political potency of the anti-Japanese feeling, could exploit the situation for their own ends (1976: 63).

The extent of anti-Japanese sentiments of those days goes beyond an economic explanation. The demonstration was organized by a Presbyterian priest Fraser and the Vancouver Anti-Asiatics Exclusionists' League, which included middle class members (Shimpo, 1975: 42-3).

In 1908, pressed by the continuing anti-Japanese sentiments, a gentlemen's agreement with Japan was arranged as the first step to restrict Japanese immigrants to Canada. The agreement changed the composition of the Japanese population in Canada significantly because it restricted male labourers and domestic servants to an annual maximum of 400 (and 150 in 1923). But it did not limit the immigration of family members, and therefore, ironically led to a rapid natural population increase (Adachi, 1976: 81, 85; Ujimoto, 1988: 135). Immigration of Japanese women as wives of male immigrants in Canada continued steadily until the outbreak of the war, although the total number of immigrants subsided after the depression (Ujimoto, 1988: 132, 137). From 1928, the quota of 150 immigrants from Japan included families of immigrants, which marked the end of the female immigrants called picture brides, and which was followed by the end of the baby boom. According to Adachi, "By 1931, the high rate of child-bearing phase was patently over. . . . after that year the number of births declined sharply . . . "

(1976: 154). Thus, the majority of the Nisei were born between 1910 and 1931, forming not only a generational category as immigrants' children but also a cohort with common experiences of overt racism in pre-World War II British Columbia and exclusion from the West Coast during the 1940s.

In 1895 the British Columbia legislature passed a measure disenfranchising British subjects of Japanese origin including both the naturalized and the Canadian-born in British Columbia. Upheld by the Privy Council in 1902, this legislation eventually meant they could neither vote nor be elected in federal, provincial, municipal, or school board elections in British Columbia (Adachi, 1976: 52; Ashworth, 1979: 94; Berger, 1981: 97). An exception was made in 1931 for World War I veterans, who received the right to vote.

Besides disenfranchisement, there were restrictions on the choice of occupation before World War II. Adachi notes:

> Barring the Japanese from the franchise, while not actually writing discriminatory regulations in the field of employment into the law, did result in a *de facto* exclusion of British subjects of Japanese race from certain fields of employment (1976: 52).

Not listed on the provincial voters' list, Japanese Canadians were virtually excluded from public service of British Columbia and Vancouver and professions such as law, pharmacy, teaching, police, forestry, post office and public health nursing (Adachi, 1976: 52; Berger, 1981: 98). Berger states: " . . . a network of law, regulation, and custom kept Orientals out of a whole range of occupations" (1981: 98). Distinctive physical features compared with the whites made Japanese Canadians an easy target for discrimination, but it was culturally learned prejudice and economic factors that were at the base of discriminatory behaviours. Japanese immigrants were hard workers despite (because of) their wages which were one-half to two-thirds lower than their white counterparts'.

When anti-Japanese sentiments became intense among the general public of British Columbia as well as among industrial workers fueled by agitating mass media and politicians, Japanese Canadians were gradually excluded from such industries as mining, lumbering, and fishing by discriminatory laws and regulations. More and more Japanese Canadians thus went into farming due to hiring and wage discrimination and the decrease of fishing licenses for them. Thus, hatred from white workers who were scared by the work the Japanese had no choice but to do for lower wages, combined with fear of their increasingly evident economic success in farming and fishing made the Japanese vulnerable to constant ill-treatment which was heightened with the advent of World War II (Young *et al*., 1938: 172). The Japanese Canadians were such a small and weak group that it was easy to uproot them from the West Coast and dispossess them of their property. According to Sunahara, however, the Japanese Canadians were not a unified group as the government treatment implied:

> Historically discrimination had been piecemeal, affecting only some Japanese Canadians at any one time. As a consequence, the response had also been piecemeal, undertaken by those most immediately affected and often with the help of the Japanese consul. The result of this piecemeal response was a plethora of uncoordinated organizations, which, while their leaders knew each other, were divided like any normal community by social, religious, geographical, ideological and generational differences. Before 1941 there had been no pressing need to reconcile those differences. . . . While the multitude of Japanese Canadian associations gave the appearance of a well-organized, tightly knit community, none could lead the minority by itself (Sunahara, 1981: 12-13).

For most Japanese immigrants exposure to Christianity began when they arrived in Canada since few were Christians before they left Japan. Young *et al.* note:

> Perhaps the most remarkable feature about the religious situation among the Japanese in British Columbia is the unusual progress of Christianity in the three or four decades since the immigrants first settled in the communities of the Province (1938: 101).

Contacts with whites and exposure to Christianity through educational institutions such as night English classes or kindergartens sponsored by church organization promoted conversion of the Japanese to Christianity. For some, becoming Christians was part of becoming Canadian. According to Adachi:

> As it [Christianity] was looked upon as an integral part of Western civilization, many Japanese underwent conversion so that they might identify themselves more closely with white society and then claimed that they were more "Canadianized" and "progressive" than the Buddhists (1976: 111).

In 1931 approximately one-third of the Japanese in British Columbia were Christians (Young *et al.*, 1938: 101). The figure is even higher for the Nisei. According to the survey of the second generation in British Columbia in 1934:

> . . . nearly 44 per cent of the second generation in all districts are Christian . . . . In the urban districts the percentage for those "with religion" who are Christians is well in excess of the Buddhists, representing 55 per cent of the total (Young *et al.*, 1938: 100, 105-6).

On top of increased conversion to Christianity, Buddhism itself changed some of its features to adapt to the need of its followers in Canada. Young *et al.* state:

> " . . . the Buddhist Church in British Columbia is no longer Japanese, but a marginal institution which has lost many of the distinguishing characteristics of a Buddhist temple and has acquired some of the more obvious features of a Christian church" (1938: 106-7).

According to Adachi some of the Christianized features of the Buddhist churches are as follows:

> The altar of the Buddhist temple with its lotus flowers, candles and icons of the Amida Buddha came to be housed in an auditorium containing pews, hymn books and organ in the Christian manner. The Kindergarten was adopted. . . . Buddhists adopted Sunday services, Sunday schools and societies paralleling those found in Christian churches (1976: 114).

Thus, Christianization of people and of Buddhism seems a dominant force in the life of Japanese Canadians. But conversion itself is not a simple indicator of Canadianization as one looks at the composition and function of the church. According to Adachi, " . . . all of these churches were self-segregated. Wherever missions existed, they were for Japanese alone, the pastors conducting services in the Japanese language." (1976: 112). In fact, those Christian churches played an important role within the immigrant Japanese community. C. H. Young and H. R. Y. Reid state:

> Foremost among elements more immediately responsible for conversion was the influence exerted by the Christian Japanese ministers who functioned not only as ministers but also as friends, and gained the affection and respect of the immigrants more as leaders of their people than as ministers of the Gospel. They acted as interpreters, employment agents, mediators, legal

> advisers, educators and doctors, and rendered countless other services at all times (1938: 104).

One must recognize that conversion to Christianity did not necessarily dissolve the Japanese community and that maintenance of Buddhism had elements of adaptation to the new environment. Conversion itself was made "in most cases with much less conflict than frequently accompanies the conversion of a Catholic to Protestantism or the converse in many parts of Canada" (Young *et al.*, 1938: 102). It must be noted that Buddhism as a religion does not seem to rest in the core of the Japanese identity. In fact, the Japanese value system is formed with multiple of beliefs and historical experiences, where Buddhism is only a part. As Young *et al.* explain quoting W. E. Griffin's study of Japan of 1904:

> In their native land, the Japanese appear to regard all religions with tolerance. "The average person in Japan does not analyse the three systems [Shintoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism]. To him they are an amalgam, forming one method of life." (1938: 102-3).

In addition to the force of assimilation to Canadian ways, the lack of one strong religious identification in the first place seems to have made rapid and massive conversion to Christianity possible. The concept of religious identification itself may have been born when the immigrants came to Canada and observed the church related activities of Canadians.

Before the war there were three educational systems available for Japanese Canadian children - attendance at Canadian public schools, Japanese schools in B.C., or schools in Japan. Most early Japanese immigrants came from poor farming and fishing villages but as many as 98% were literate since a universal elementary school education system consisting of six years of compulsory education had started in Japan in 1872 (Adachi, 1976: 13, 29). And the Japanese generally valued children's education

regardless of their social class background. When Nisei [the second generation] started to reach school age, education became a priority for the immigrant parents. Some parents who were keen on educating their children in a "proper" Japanese way and who could afford to, sent their children to Japan: in 1941 1,500 (14%) of school-aged Canadian-born Japanese children were studying in Japan (Sunahara, 1981: 8). Still, the majority educated their children in Canada. Some scholars maintain that the occupational shift from logging and railway construction, jobs that required moving from one place to another, to farming occurred because of both the discriminatory wage and hiring system and because of parents' consideration of the educational environment for their children.

As early as 1906, a Japanese language school was established in Vancouver, and soon remote mining and farming communities founded their own. By 1935 there were about 40 Japanese language schools in British Columbia with 3,283 students (Adachi, 1976: 127). The Japanese language school gradually shifted its emphasis from that of full Japanese curriculum to a supplementary English instruction for the public school, and to the Japanese language instruction. According to M. Ashworth:

> Recognizing the difficulties facing Japanese-speaking children in English language schools, it broadened its scope to include a complete education in the primary grades using Japanese as the language of instruction but offering English as a second language. Gradually more and more children enrolled directly in the public schools and after 1920 the school concentrated on teaching the Japanese language and the program in primary education was dropped (1979: 97).

Thus, immediately before the war only a few schools employed the Japanese curriculum of the time and taught Japanese ethics and history courses as well as the language itself; others barely managed language instruction at a low level (Adachi, 1976: 128-9). One educational system was not exclusive of another, and eventually, attending a Japanese

language school after regular studies at a Canadian public school during the day time was a popular choice for Nisei (Sunahara, 1981: 12).

Despite efforts by some parents and politicians to segregate Japanese children from the public school, only one case of segregation was carried out in Marpole school in Vancouver in 1925. Wider realization of segregation had to wait until 1942 when exclusion of coastal British Columbia Japanese started (Ashworth, 1979: 99-100). The public school was a vehicle for assimilating children to Canadian society - in their values and behaviours. Children learned English and the principles of democracy and fair play. Some considered Japanese language schools as a force delaying assimilation of Japanese children to Canadian society, as an extra burden on these children after regular schooling, or as even a conspiracy. Japanese language schools, however, played a role in connecting parents and children and gave parents the opportunity to gather and exchange information (Adachi, 1976: 128). Earlier Japanese language schools prepared children for public schools, giving English language lessons. In some cases, an organizer (principal/teacher) of Japanese language schools became a mediator between the public school and immigrant parents who did not have a command of English.

By the time the war started the general consensus among leaders of Japanese communities was that the public school should be the prime source of education and that Japanese language school should be the secondary. Accordingly, Canadianization of texts used in language schools began to occur. Besides the public schools and the Japanese language schools, the education of Japanese Canadians by Christian churches should be noted. Christian churches offered night English classes for new immigrants: for example, a school was established by the Methodists in 1912 and continued by the United Church for 22 years (Adachi, 1976: 111). Early in the twentieth century the Anglican Church and the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church opened kindergartens to teach Canadian-born Japanese children English and prepare them for school; the Catholic Church and the United Church followed suit by operating

kindergartens for Canadian-born Japanese children. This work continued in the interior relocation camps, where Japanese high school students were tutored (Ashworth, 1979: 96-7, 100).

The seeds of political awareness and activity among Japanese Canadians were sown during the era prior to World War II, but they could not grow in the discriminatory climate of the time. Attempts by a naturalized citizen T. Homma in 1900 and by a Nisei group in 1936 to acquire the franchise eventually failed. Only World War I veterans were enfranchised in 1931 after ten years of struggle. This did not last, however: veterans too were excluded during World War II. In all the above cases, organized efforts were made to collect funds from Japanese Canadians for legal procedures, but the purpose was solely for the right to vote - an individual right. Little attention was focused on collective rights.

Nisei faced contradictory processes of socialization: they underwent Canadianization through public school education which taught them principles of democracy and fair play while at the same time encountering discrimination which reminded them continually of their second class citizen status. The discrepancy between the ideal and the realities of life was obvious. Nisei were told to assimilate to be Canadians, but when they did, they were not accepted by the larger society. By the time many Nisei reached young adulthood in the 1930s, the problem was not "to assimilate or not" but to acquire the franchise.

During the period before World War II, most of the Japanese Canadians lived in British Columbia, where they faced prejudice and discrimination based on the assumption that they were inferior, inassimilable, and therefore a menace to the white people in the province. Discrimination took the form of low wages, restricted access to occupations, and restrictive immigration laws. Japanese immigrants worked hard despite (because of) receiving wages which were one-half to two-thirds lower than their white counterparts'. Their hard work generated fear among the white workers. Labelled as

unfair competitors, Japanese Canadians were gradually eliminated from industries such as fishing, logging and mining by discriminatory laws and regulations. The gentlemen's agreement of 1908 between Canada and Japan restricted the number of male Japanese immigrants. But it resulted in an increase in female Japanese immigrants. As immigration of Japanese women increased, continuing for the next thirty years and balancing the gender ratio among Japanese immigrants, so did the second generation. The arrival of the second generation (Nisei) brought the issue of assimilation closer to reality among Japanese immigrants. As more and more Japanese children attended public schools with the white children, they learned not only English but also Canadian values and became culturally assimilated to Canadian society. Public schools and Christian churches encouraged Nisei to be Canadianized. When they finished school, however, Nisei found that occupational opportunities were restricted to them and that they did not even have the right to vote in British Columbia. Thus, while they were culturally assimilated, Nisei were not structurally assimilated to Canadian society.

C. World War II and Exclusion

In February, 1942, the Canadian Federal Cabinet ordered the expulsion of people of Japanese origin residing within one hundred miles of the Pacific Coast. With the exercise of the War Measures Act, Japanese Canadians were all treated as "enemy aliens" regardless of citizenship (Sunahara, 1981: 52). Notices addressed "To Male Enemy Aliens" and "To All Persons of Japanese Racial Origin" were posted in conspicuous places. About 21,000 Japanese Canadians were removed from their homes in 1942. Of those, some men were separated from their families and sent to road camps or P.O.W camps if they did not obey the exclusion order, about 14,500 were interned in British Columbia Interior Housing Projects (relocation camps), 4,000 were later sent to work on sugar-

beet farms and 4,000 were deported or exiled to Japan after the war (Cleroux, 1986: A1-2).

There is a view that exclusion of Japanese Canadians from the west coast was justifiable for the national security. According to Berger, "Many persons were, of course, genuinely afraid of Japanese landings on the west coast of Canada" (1981: 108). The issue of national security was, however, based on suspicion of Japanese Canadians on the west coast. For example, conservative MP Howard Green spoke in the House in early 1942:

> There has been treachery elsewhere from Japanese in this war, and we have no reason to hope that there will be none in British Columbia. . . . The only complete protection we can have from this danger is to remove the Japanese population from the province (Quoted in Berger, 1981: 108).

There were no grounds for treachery by Japanese Canadians. On the contrary, Japanese Canadians were loyal to Canada. Berger states:

> The Japanese Canadians had professed and amply proved their loyalty. Far from refusing to serve in the Canadian forces, they tried to enlist - but they were refused (1981: 109).

Neither German Canadians nor Italian Canadians faced total exclusion from the east coast which was as vulnerable to the attack as the west coast (Sunahara, 1981: 31-2). Moreover, the fact that about 4,000 Japanese Canadians were sent to Japan after World War II and others were kept excluded from the west coast until 1949 indicates that exclusion of Japanese Canadians from the west coast was not for security reason.

The official reason for relocation was the war with Japan and terms such as "enemy" and "Japanese" referred to the wartime enemy - the Japanese. These terms, however, would have been used regardless of the war because the Japanese immigrants and their descendants had been defined for a long time as the enemies of the whites in

Canada. Indeed, except for some Christian organizations, " . . . until the formation of the CCF [Co-operative Commonwealth Federation] in 1932 Japanese Canadians had no other ally on which to call when faced with discrimination" (Sunahara, 1981: 12).

A. G. Sunahara's *The Politics of Racism* discloses the content of the Canadian Government's war-time documents when they became available after thirty years and seeks an explanation for the relocation and internment of Japanese Canadians. According to Sunahara, there were those who promoted legal racism and those who opposed it. The former were mostly British Columbia politicians and the latter were "the most senior officers of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the military, and the entire Far Eastern Division of the Department of External Affairs" (Sunahara, 1981: 3). But it was the Federal Government that had the power to make the final decision. The federal cabinet demonstrated "passive, often unconscious racism" compared with "the overt, active racism" of British Columbia politicians (Sunahara, 1981: 3). Such passive and unconscious racism including ignorance, indifference and silence is explained by the culture of prejudice existing at the time and by economic conflict. The cabinet knew that being anti-Japanese would create a favourable response from residents of British Columbia. Dispossession of the Japanese solved another problem. To avoid a depression and labour unrest after the end of the war, A Veteran's Land Act program was being planned. Ian MacKenzie, the Minister of Pension and Health, decided that for the V. L. A. scheme "the Japanese Canadian farms . . . would be ideal . . ." (Sunahara, 1981: 104). At the same time, the liquidation of the Japanese Canadian holdings on the Pacific Coast supported the Japanese Canadians in detention camps.

When relocation into camps started in 1942, Japanese Canadian children were deprived of educational opportunities. The education of Japanese children, however, was important to immigrant parents and it was never neglected in the internment camps or even in Hastings Park Exhibition Ground where British Columbia Japanese living outside Vancouver or Steveston were interned temporarily before they were sent to inland

relocation camps. In Hastings Park children were taught by Japanese language school teachers and Nisei with high school education; high school students studied by correspondence.

The Government of British Columbia refused to take responsibility for the education of children in the camps (Sunahara, 1981: 96). It was the Women's Missionary Society, Roman Catholic, Episcopal and United churches that helped establish schools in the relocation camps. In these schools, minimally funded by the federal government, primary school [grade 1 through grade 8 - compulsory] children were taught by high school-educated Nisei. Formal high school education, on the other hand, was not provided in the camps and students took correspondence courses and/or were tutored by teachers from the churches (Sunahara, 1981: 97).

Sunahara notes: "The difference between racists and liberals in that period lay primarily in the fact that racists believed non-white minorities could never assimilate, while liberals believed they could and should" (1981: 132). In the pre and post-World War II period, exclusion of the Japanese Canadians was an act of racism, whereas dispersal of the Japanese Canadians was an act of assimilationism, although they are both based on racism according to today's standard of human rights.

The dispersal of the Japanese Canadians in 1946 was thought to be for their own good. Discrimination against the Japanese Canadians was considered the fault of the "inassimilable" Japanese Canadians. Thus, geographical dispersal was considered necessary for assimilation of the Japanese Canadians into Canadian society and for the elimination of discrimination against them. All the Japanese Canadians were forced to leave British Columbia and move east of the Rockies, with the exception of 3,965 who went to Japan in 1946 and "the sick, the unemployable, the veterans, their families and those who lived in self-supporting communities" (Sunahara, 1981: 140). Thus, British Columbia had only 6,776 Japanese Canadians in 1947 compared to 21,975 in

1942. In contrast, other provinces that had few Japanese before the war found their Japanese population increased (Sunahara, 1981: 173).

There were only 534 Japanese in the province of Alberta in 1942. Most of them came to southern Alberta originally as sugar beet workers (1904 - 1914), coal miners (1920), or railroad construction workers. Later they became farmers. This population increased to 3,231 in 1943 as a consequence of the exclusion and dispersal policy of the Japanese Canadians by the federal government during and after the war (Sunahara, 1981: 173). A shortage of sugar beet workers in southern Alberta brought the Japanese to Alberta but they were not welcomed in this province otherwise. According to Sunahara, the Japanese were supposed to leave Alberta as soon as the war ended: "Only in Alberta did resettlement become an issue. A province, like British Columbia, with a strong nativist tradition, Alberta alone had demanded in 1942 that the B.C. Japanese be removed after armistice" (1981: 142). Yet the sugar beet labour shortage persisted after the war, and because of this economic reason the province of Alberta did not force Japanese to leave Alberta. While some Japanese kept moving to Alberta from British Columbia camps, others from Alberta moved further east. According to Sunahara, "Anxious for the security of permanent residence, a number of the uprooted Japanese took advantage of the resettlement program to move to the fruit and vegetable districts of southwestern Ontario" (1981: 143). Although some movement out of the province occurred, the Japanese population of Alberta has continued to grow both through natural increase and post-World War II immigration so that it numbers 7,985 (14.6% of the national figure) today (Kobayashi, 1989: 16)[3]

The exclusion of Japanese Canadians on the West Coast was an act of racism, which is evident in the fact that neither German Canadians nor Italian Canadians suffered the same degree of ill treatment in Canada although both Germany and Italy were at war with

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[3]Note: The figure includes multiple ethnicity.

Canada. It is noted that anti-Japanese sentiment did not suddenly rise with the war; it had existed long before the war. Japanese Canadians living along the coast were all relocated from their homes, interned in camps, and later dispersed across Canada or sent to Japan. Education of school age children was severely disrupted during the move and internment. Meanwhile, Japanese properties were sold at a fraction of their value without their owners' consent. Many did not or could not return to the West Coast. Even when they were finally allowed to go back to the West Coast in 1949, when the wai time restrictions were lifted, nothing was left for them.

D. Franchise and Socio-Economic Mobility: Post-World War II Years

Japanese Canadians did not have the right to vote until April 1, 1949 when their franchise was accorded. When the war-time restrictions were lifted and the Japanese Canadians were enfranchised, they were finally given an equal opportunity, at least legally, to advance themselves in Canadian society. Some Japanese Canadians were already too old to recover from their economic loss, whereas others could take newly opened opportunities: " . . . the Nisei plunged into acquiring the outward manifestations of success: suburban homes and jobs in middle management" (Sunahara, 1981: 166). A notable example of socio-economic mobility after World War II is a Nisei, Tom Shoyama. Shoyama became Deputy Minister of Finance in 1975; he had worked as a logger, a bricklayer, and an editor of a Japanese Community newspaper after he graduated from the University of British Columbia in 1938 (Adachi, 1976: 359-60). According to Sunahara, at present the Japanese Canadians are:

> Canada's third most highly educated and prosperous minority - right behind the Jews and the Chinese. . . . They succeeded because the Nisei were able to take their Canadian educations

into a booming postwar economy and, through culturally valued hard work and thrift, rebuild their lives" (1981: 166).

A study by Shiva S. Halli based on the 1971 census, however, shows that " . . . there are extremely low proportions of Japanese in either high or low occupations. In fact, they represent the lowest proportion in the most prestigious occupations [compared to British and Chinese]" (1987: 53). Halli's findings in combination with the high level of education of Japanese Canadians in general, suggest that Japanese Canadians have not reached the top despite their education.

Now let us focus on Japanese Canadians in Edmonton during the post-World War II years. There were very few Japanese in the Edmonton area before World War II. During the war some moved from Vancouver to southern Alberta sugar beet farms and/or to Edmonton. Right after the war in 1946 a nation-wide Japanese organization, the Japanese Canadian Citizens Association, restarted and the newsletter was distributed through the Edmonton branch. At first, local presidents and leaders were Issei, but in 1950s the first Nisei president took over the leadership. One of the earlier leaders was Mr. Inouye, an ex-principal of a Japanese language school in Vancouver and then owner of Silk-O-Lina. In terms of ethnic media, the Japanese Canadians in Edmonton individually subscribed to the New Canadian from Toronto and the Times from Vancouver. Formal activities organized by the Edmonton branch of the Japanese Canadian Citizens Association were a picnic and a Christmas party, both of which were mainly for children. The Christmas party was held at Bissell United Church where the pastor was very friendly and supportive. The Japanese were invited to dinner at the church. The International Dinner at Bissell Church was an occasion where Japanese gathered. This International Dinner was an archetype of the contemporary Heritage Days where various ethnic groups brought their traditional dish and shared it with others. The Japanese group usually made chow mein, which, in fact, is a Chinese dish, but tasty, inexpensive, and close enough to be Japanese. In those days, right after the war, the Japanese were constrained

by the economic loss and adjustment they needed to make in a new town without Japanese foods and goods. Under these circumstances the Japanese foods co-op was organized and run for over twenty years by Mr. Sugiura. He ordered Japanese foods from Vancouver warehouses. The Japanese were not well organized otherwise: gathering for dinner amongst friends was more common than organized meetings.

The Japanese community in post-World War II Edmonton was new and small and existed for mutual support and survival in a new environment. It consisted mostly of those people who were recovering from economic and emotional sufferings of exclusion; thus, they tried not to be any more visible than necessary and their activities were limited to private gatherings. This behaviour was continued by Nisei. Sunahara notes:

> Avoiding the public eye and cutting back to the social level their ties to the Japanese minority, the Nisei plunged into acquiring the outward manifestations of success: suburban homes and jobs in middle management. Their organizations, surviving only in a very weak form, kept a low profile, going public only on motherhood issues like human rights and more liberal immigration laws - and always in the company of other ethnic and religious groups (1981: 166).

Thus, there was no attempt to re-create Japanese institutions as Japanese language schools, Japanese public bathes, Japanese fencing clubs, Japanese inns and restaurants etc., which had existed in Vancouver before World War II.

Before World War II there were about ten Japanese language schools in Vancouver. In Edmonton, however, there had been none until the present Japanese language school was founded in 1977, mainly for the children of the post-World War II immigrants and the temporary visitors from Japan. The consequence has been loss of language among descendants of pre-World War II immigrants. The population of Japanese Canadians increased in Edmonton with the wave of post-World War II technical immigrants of the

1970s; the descendants of the pre-World War II immigrants - now third and fourth generations - have a high rate of intermarriage, that is they tend to marry non-Japanese Canadians. The above trends make the Japanese Canadian population more heterogeneous than that of the pre-World War II British Columbia years in terms of occupation and level of Japanese cultural maintenance.

A change in public attitudes toward minorities occurred gradually after the World War II. Friends of Japanese Canadians were limited before the war, whereas now the public started to realize that Japanese Canadians had been loyal to Canada and it was inhumane and un-Christian to mistreat them. On the part of the Japanese Canadians, many were now Canadian-born generations and socialized into Canadian norms so that cultural differences and misunderstandings were less significant than during the time of early immigrants. Cultural assimilation of the Japanese Canadians to the larger society and the liberal climate of the public allowed young Japanese Canadians to pursue education and socio-economic opportunity when the post-World War II economic boom arrived. When their children arrived, parents took the assimilationist route, taking care not to impart their Japanese heritage in the hope that their children would be Canadian. Many Sansei grew up in a white context with little contact with other Japanese because of dispersion, which few of them knew about until they learned about the exclusion of the Japanese Canadians in school. Sansei knew little about Japanese culture. Nisei parents would not talk about it; communication with Issei grandparents was difficult because of the language barrier. Though most Sansei marry non-Japanese Canadians, this trend has not meant the end of Japanese Canadian identity.

E. Multiculturalism

The policy of multiculturalism enunciated by the Federal Government in 1971 and by some provincial governments thereafter, has created a climate for the exercise of

ethnic power. The federal policy of multiculturalism is a form of "governmental recognition of ethnic groups" found in "integrated pluralism" (Abu-Laban & Mottershead, 1981: 53). Multiculturalism has had an impact on the views concerning Canada's cultural diversity since 1971 when Prime Minister Trudeau announced the policy. According to Berry, Kalin, and Taylor:

> It [Multiculturalism] sought to promote the retention of characteristic cultural features by those groups which desired to do so, and to encourage the sharing of these cultural features with other members of the larger Canadian society (1980: 259-260).

This emphasis on cultural retention and sharing, as the prime minister noted "within a bilingual framework" (Berry *et al.*, 1980: 259), shows the limits to diversity afforded by the policy. In this context multiculturalism is possible only in the realm of culture because at least one of the two official languages must be learned. Having its historical origin in the Report of the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, which was only concerned with the British and French cultures and languages, multiculturalism started as a relatively weak cultural pluralism. Yet the policy's impact on the Canadian society has been significant. As Abu-Laban and Mottershead observe: "Canada . . . witnessed, in recent years, substantial growth in the internal solidarity and social and political consciousness of many of its ethnic groups . . . " (1981: 54). The definition of multiculturalism has been the focus of discussion among intellectuals, politicians, and ethnic groups; and changes have been made for funding criteria. One of the purposes of multiculturalism as a transitional force to integrate new immigrants in Canadian society remains. The other purpose of heritage maintenance and sharing for Canadian-born generations now receives less support. In fact, the federal government has stopped funding song and dance programmes and decreased funding for

language. New attention is being directed toward educating the larger society about combatting prejudice and discrimination against minorities in Canada.

It is in this context of multiculturalism that concerns about identity and redress began to arise. In the case of Japanese Canadians, the centennial celebration in 1977 of the first Japanese immigration to Canada was an opportunity, which was certainly influenced by the multiculturalism policy, to revive ethnic consciousness and ties. Living scattered with the fear and memories of being uprooted, Japanese Canadians had been low key in terms of their ethnic group activity until the late 1970s, even though they were always a visible minority. For some Japanese Canadians, especially the Nisei, who had been rushing to assimilation, the policy of multiculturalism was untimely. The Nisei, believing in assimilation themselves, practically raised the Sansei as non-Japanese:

> Wanting only to forget their wartime experiences, the Nisei felt no pressing need to emphasize things Japanese in the rearing of their children. As a consequence, the Sansei grew up knowing little and caring less about their heritage. They also grew up ignorant of the wartime experience of their parents and grandparents (Sunahara, 1981: 167-168).

Extensive cultural assimilation of Japanese Canadians may have brought them material success, but it has not been achieved without some cost. The issue is not whether traditional culture of an immigrant group is lost or not, but how forcibly and hastily it is lost. Sunahara comments on the effects of exclusion: "Although outwardly they appear to have recovered, Japanese Canadians still carry the scars of their wartime experience. The poverty of the Issei, the social silence of the Nisei, and the cultural ignorance of the Sansei are all legacies of the war" (Sunahara, 1981: 166).

In the post-World War II era many Japanese Canadians achieved socio-economic mobility which, because of discrimination, their predecessors could not. With the

multiculturalism movement and concerns about civil rights in the 1960s and 1970s, ethnic consciousness grew among Japanese Canadians. Overt discrimination was rare, but in some occupations barriers against promotion above a certain rank still existed, and the problem of identity remained. The multiculturalism policy also led the public to realize the multi-ethnic reality of Canadian society and made it acceptable to enjoy non-British or non-French culture. Often criticized for its inclination toward the expressive aspect of ethnic culture such as songs, dance, and foods, the policy has also had an impact on politicization of ethnic groups.

F. Redress Movement

In 1983 three Japanese Americans who had been charged and convicted for not following the U. S. Government internment order during World War II launched petitions for a hearing on the grounds of government misconduct in their cases. The Korematsu and Yasui petitions have received vacation of charges and dismissal of indictments, while the Hirabayashi petition received a further evidentiary hearing and was decided in the petitioner's favour (*Time*, 24 February 1986, 17).

As the above court cases illustrate, it is only recently that redress has become a problem raised by both Japanese Americans and Japanese Canadians who share similar war-time experiences. Seeds of the redress movement of the 1980s are found earlier in the 1970s:

> During the winter of 1976, an earnest discussion on reparations and redress commenced when a group of interested people got together at the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre in Toronto. By the mid-1970s, there had begun a gradual release of previously secret war-time documents that pertained to the forced removal of Japanese Canadians from the Pacific Coast of

> British Columbia. At the same time, there was a growing interest in Japanese Canadian history by the *sansei*, the third generation Japanese Canadians (Ujimoto, 1988: 152).

A study committee was formed and the redress issue was addressed at the National Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association in Winnipeg in 1977 (Ujimoto, 1988: 152). Meanwhile, the study on redress was continued and community meetings were held across Canada. Gradually the topic of redress appeared on television, in newspapers, and in Japanese community newsletters more and more often. These events indicate that Japanese Canadians have become more aware of and more vocal about their concerns and their identity as an ethnic group.

In 1983 about forty years after the exclusion of the Japanese Canadians, the National Association of Japanese Canadians formally started negotiating redress with the Liberal Government in vain and then in 1984 with the newly elected Conservative Government. Prime Minister Mulroney had previously indicated that a Conservative government would make compensation payments to the Japanese Canadians. Negotiations with the Conservative government, however, were not without difficulty:

> Mr. Mulroney's first multiculturalism minister, Jack Murta, spoke about a "memorialization" instead of payment and an apology. The next multiculturalism minister, Otto Jelinek, battled with Mr. Miki and said publicly that "real survivors" of the internment did not want compensation. As the next minister, David Crombie came up with a plan for no individual compensation and a $12-million community fund (Cleroux, 1988: A2).

Meanwhile, a socio-economic study of losses suffered by the Japanese Canadians due to the internment and confiscation of property (the Price Waterhouse study) was completed in 1986 and it reported the losses were at least $443 million (1985: 1). On

22 September 1988 the Redress Settlement Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Japanese Canadians was formalized after four years of negotiations with four ministers of multiculturalism. Gerry Weiner, Minister of State for Multiculturalism and Citizenship, represented the Government of Canada and Art Miki, president of the National Association of the Japanese Canadians, represented the Japanese Canadians at the Redress Settlement negotiations. According to the agreement, $24 million was to be spent to create the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, $12 million was to be paid as the Japanese Canadian Redress Foundation, and $21,000 was to be paid to each surviving individual who had suffered exclusion.

Perhaps more interesting than the eventual disposition of this question of redress, is the question of why, after forty years, the issue of redress should become a focus of concern for the government and, more importantly, for Japanese Canadians. What does the redress movement mean in terms of the identity, status and power of Japanese Canadians?

War-time documents became open to the public for the first time in the late 1970s and disclosed the evidence that there was no security reason for the exclusion of the Japanese Canadians from the West Coast. The question arises: Why were the Japanese Canadians excluded from the coast, dispersed across Canada, or sent to Japan? The answer is racism represented by the government of Canada. There were still barriers to overcome when it was clear that the Japanese Canadians did not need to be excluded and thus should be compensated: these were a situational barrier surrounding the Japanese Canadians and an internal barrier within the Japanese Canadians.

Compared with their predecessors, contemporary Canadians are generally more aware of and sensitive to the issues of racism and human rights. Asians were considered innately inferior, not assimilable to the Canadian society, and yet were considered unfair competitors when they worked hard. Besides this obvious prejudice toward visible minorities in the past, even today there exists a naive but serious misunderstanding

about the concept of ethnicity - confusion of nationality with ethnicity. One of the major difficulties of the Japanese redress settlement was based on this misconception of which country the Japanese Canadians belong to. The following are some examples:

> A number of Canadian veterans associations have opposed any compensation to Japanese-Canadians because they remember the treatment Canadian soldiers captured in Hong Kong suffered at the hands of the Imperial Japanese Army.
>
> Mr. Trudeau once went to Japan to apologize for Canada's treatment of Japanese Canadians.
>
> He was politely told by the Japanese that perhaps it might be better if he apologized to Japanese Canadians instead (Cleroux, 1988: A2).

> On the evening of the glorious day when the Redress settlement was announced in Ottawa, one thing at the Toronto reception was wholly off-key. When early arrivals entered the ballroom of the Sutton Place Hotel for the Redress settlement reception sponsored by the federal multicultural department, the dais had on the wall behind it two large flags - of Canada and *of Japan* (Moritsugu, 1989: 1).

The above examples show that it is common for Japanese Canadians to be taken for Japanese nationals and not Canadian nationals. What makes ethnic Japanese distinct in Canada is their visible physical features. Because of their distinct appearance, Japanese Canadians are casually but often regarded as non-Canadians even if they were born and encultured in Canada. Japanese are often taken for Chinese or Koreans for their racial characteristics although they are culturally distinct from each other. Today the majority of Japanese Canadians are descendants of pre-World War II immigrants and they have

completed cultural assimilation to Canadian society. In this sense they may not share concerns with other new Asian immigrants or with post-World War II immigrants from Japan. The above facts may also contribute to the formation of the identity of Japanese Canadians.

The internal barrier to redress is the weak organization of Japanese Canadians. In addition to the fact that the Japanese Canadians are one of the smallest minorities, they are dispersed across Canada. This geographical dispersal, a consequence of government policy, is ingrained in the minds of many Japanese Canadians to the extent that they avoid living close to each other. The psychological effects of the past experiences of discrimination may have also hindered Japanese from associating with each other. Some Nisei have become so patriotic to Canada that they in turn resent Japan and its culture, because they see it as the source of discrimination against them. By the time the social climate changed toward tolerance of cultural diversity, Japanese Canadians had already lost much of their cultural tradition and had little strength in associations. Some Nisei did not support redress - believing in the assimilationist ideal, busy establishing themselves, and enjoying middle-class life. According to Sunahara, the war-time history of the Japanese Canadians was seldom told to younger generations:

> The reasons the Nisei were given in the 1950s reinforce their silence. Japanese Canadians, they were told, were uprooted, dispossessed and dispersed because they had failed to assimilate - that is, failed to deny their Japanese heritage and to submerge themselves in the dominant Anglo-Canadian culture (1981: 166).

Thus, not only the power but the existence of the Japanese Canadians as a solid community was in question when the redress issue appeared. As a consequence of their dispersal and efforts to assimilate into the larger society, many Japanese Canadians did not join Japanese associations and simply tried to forget their history before 1949. Thus, there

was a gap between the leaders of the redress movement and the rest of the Japanese Canadians. Completely disenfranchised until 31 March 1949, some Japanese Canadians still continued to eschew political activity even with regard to their own rights.

By the mid 1980s when the National Association of Japanese Canadians started the redress movement, opinions and news on redress also started to appear in the community newsletter in Edmonton. Yet one redress meeting in Edmonton in November1985 found only twenty-five attendants. When this survey was conducted in Edmonton in the summer of 1988 immediately prior to the redress settlement of September 22, 1988, redress was still an important but controversial issue among Japanese Canadians: some were against redress because of the fear of backlash from the whites and others believed they should pursue the goal. But many were unsure of the outcome of the redress negotiations because history repeatedly demonstrated that the voice of Japanese Canadians would not be heard.

Political action for rights existed in the history of Japanese Canadians, but they were always met with great barriers against them. As early as 1900 a naturalized citizen, T. Homma, sought the franchise in British Columbia and took the case to the court. Both the supreme court of British Columbia and the supreme court of Canada ruled in favour of him, but the Privy Council ruled against him, deciding that the franchise was within provincial jurisdiction and therefore Homma could not vote. World War I veterans supported by the Issei organization, the Canadian Japanese Association, also fought for the franchise. It was finally given to them in 1931. And in 1936 a newly formed Nisei group, the Japanese Canadian Citizens League, lobbied for the right to vote for Canadian-born Japanese in British Columbia during federal elections (Adachi, 1976: 160). Although at the House of Commons committee "All were astounded at their [four-member Nisei delegation] fluency in English" (Adachi, 1976: 161), no effort was made to change the situation that Japanese Canadians, with the exception of World War I

veterans, were disqualified at the federal elections in British Columbia because they were disqualified in the British Columbia provincial elections (Adachi, 1976: 386).

The Japanese redress movement was the first major political movement among Japanese Canadians since the 1949 franchise. Japanese Canadians were not always organizationally reserved. Prior to the war unionization among Japanese fishermen and farmers for economic purposes existed; some Issei and Nisei fought for the franchise, but it took thirty years for redress to become an issue. Japanese Canadians needed to recover from past injustices economically and psychologically and the larger society needed to develop the social climate within which such pursuit for justice was possible.

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Research on ethnic groups in Canada started around the turn of this century. At that time assimilation was the aim of public policy directed at those immigrants who were considered to be a social and economic problem to Canada. Central and eastern Europeans and Orientals were at first considered inassimilable to Canada as they were racially and culturally inferior. When a more liberal view maintaining that " . . . immigrant social problems . . . were the result of social conditions, rather than individual failings" appeared, those immigrants instead became the main targets of an assimilationist policy, which was designed to "Canadianize and protestantize" them (Palmer, 1977: 168-9). Ethnic sentiment still had a negative connotation under the liberal assimilationism: class was considered to be the basis of inequality and thus individual rights and equality based on universalism were the desired social goals. In the post-World War II era, especially since the 1970s, the dominant approach to ethnicity has changed from that of the assimilationist denying the significance of ethnicity to that of the pluralist accepting or even celebrating the significance of ethnicity. Recently attention has been given to aspects of ethnic identity such as ethnic self identification and ethnic political association that appear to persist after cultural assimilation.

In the following three sections of this chapter, literature on ethnic identity is reviewed. In section A, four major aspects of ethnic identity along with the assumptions about minority ethnic group members are identified and explored. In section B, contexts for ethnic identity of Japanese Canadians are examined in terms of material and non-material resources of Canadian society. Lastly in section C, studies on the relationship between socio-economic status and ethnic identity are reviewed and lead to the hypotheses of this study.

A. Ethnic Identity as a Complex Sociological Variable: Aspects of Ethnic Identity

As S. Thernstrom *et al.* state: " . . . there is yet no consensus about the precise meaning of ethnicity . . . . Ethnicity is an immensely complex phenomenon" (1980: v-vi). Accordingly, various meanings of ethnicity are evident in the historical development of the studies of ethnicity and also in the broad range of approaches to studies on ethnicity today. Studies of ethnicity are found in a variety of disciplines such as biology, anthropology, psychology, sociology, political science etc. and their foci and methodologies are diverse (Palmer, 1977: 174-6; Thernstrom *et al.*, 1980: vii). In this study the concept ethnic identity is defined in terms of a sociological framework, and four aspects of ethnic identity - race, common culture, identity and political actions - are included. The former two aspects, namely race and common culture, reflect earlier notions of ethnicity. These notions of ethnicity assume that an ethnic group is identifiable objectively. As Kallen notes:

> . . . ethnicity was conceived as an attribute of an organized and cohesive ethnic group whose members shared distinctive bio-cultural attributes which they transmitted from generation to generation through the processes of inbreeding (intra-ethnic mating) and enculturation (distinctive ethnic socialization) (1982: 58).

Some ethnic groups in Canada are more cohesive than others and more so at some times than at other times. Most members of minorities in Canada, however, go through acculturation, and in some cases, do not even possess ethnic cultural characteristics. But they are often considered by the dominant groups as cohesive, unassimilating and thus problematic.

The latter two aspects, namely identity and political actions, are newer notions of ethnicity. Modern technology has promoted interaction of peoples in the world, which causes two seemingly paradoxical phenomena with respect to ethnic identity, namely cultural uniformity and salience of ethnicity. Focusing on today's massive international migration and development of instant satellite communications, Kallen states:

> . . . while these developments have increasingly muted or eroded former cultural differences between human populations and have generated a certain degree of cultural uniformity at the international level, at the same time they appear to have heightened the salience of ethnic differentiation both within and among modern states (1982: 59).

It is this heightened salience of differentiation, despite increasing cultural uniformity, that brought "a more subjective frame of reference" to the study of ethnicity (Kallen, 1982: 58). The rise of identity and political action based on ethnicity is not, in fact, paradoxical to increased inter-ethnic interaction, first because interaction is likely to cause conflicts as well as uniformity, and second because many individuals are now secure enough to place the ethnic issue in forefront.

In the following, these aspects of ethnic identity are examined in four categories roughly in their historical order of appearance in ethnic studies. These concepts are by no means exclusive of one another. In fact, identity may be based on racial or cultural characteristics and culture may be a focus of political interest to mention but a few examples.

1. Biological Aspect

As the original meaning of ethnicity indicated race (Petersen, 1980: 234-5), a biological criterion of human grouping, race is still a part of meaning of ethnicity. Van den Berghe, for example, defines ethnicity as "an extension of kinship" and explains

persistence of ethnicity as a genetic function of kin selection (1981: 239). The two terms - ethnicity and race, however, have developed their own meanings separate from each other. The commonly used meaning and emphasis of the term race was established in the eighteenth century "to indicate major divisions of humankind by stressing certain common physical characteristics such as skin color" (Hughes, 1982: 3). There are various ways of classifying human species, but among human species three basic kinds of races are identified in terms of physical characteristics: Negroid, Caucasoid and Mongoloid (Hughes, 1982: 6). A racial category is an ideal type and does not represent a real group of people. As D. Hughes notes:

> . . . there is no such thing as pure race. Rather, racial differences are relative phenomena indicated by greater or lesser frequencies of particular genes, rather than by their absolute presence or absence" (1982: 6).

In spite of the established biological meaning and its relative nature, the term race has still been confused with an ethnic group and the behavioural pattern of the group members, which Hughes calls " . . . erroneous connecting of physical attributes with behavioral and other cultural traits . . . " (1982: 3). Thus, however erroneous, race as physical characteristics can be a factor in the definition of an ethnic group and its misuse is racism. Racism - the use of supposed racial differences as a tool for unjust treatment of other human beings - is a social problem. Even van den Berghe, while defending the genetic explanation of persistence of ethnicity and racism, recognizes situational factors behind the phenomenon (1981: 261). According to Rex:

> When . . . biologists concluded that racial differences had no relevance to the political differences and conflicts among men, sociologists were called upon to look at the structural contexts in which racist ideas flourished (1986: 71).

Even after biological inequality and inassimilability among racial categories were disproved, however, belief in social inequality and inassimilability among them persisted. Following the conflict paradigm, Rex points to race as an aspect of ethnic identity as he describes the structural contexts in which it exists:

> . . . the differences said to be racial were better described as 'ethnic' . . . . Unfortunately, too often, when this line was taken, ethnic differentiation was treated as a benign phenomenon. What was left out was the element essential to the understanding of racism, namely that ethnic groups sometimes had identities imposed on them to restrict their mobility and to facilitate their exploitation and oppression (1986: 71).

Whether biological or social, race is a category based on imposed ascription on a person by others. When racial inequality in itself became unjustifiable, the blame was shifted to cultural traits of such people.

2. Socio-Cultural Aspect

In the first half of the twentieth century assimilability of certain immigrant groups was doubted based on their racial or cultural inferiority which was believed to be transmitted genetically (Palmer, 1977: 168-9). Although severe prejudice and discrimination especially against visible minorities persisted until after World War II, tolerance toward non-British immigrant groups developed gradually and the view of immigrant ethnic groups also changed. In a 1936 study by Dawson, "For the first time group characteristics were attributed to culture, rather than to biology" (Palmer, 1977: 171-2).

Culture is a set of patterns of thought and action. Thus, both attitudes and behaviour constitute culture. As Breton defines it, culture includes "values and norms" and "customs and ways of doing things" (1983: 7). Although culture is a broadly used

term including class culture, status culture, and regional culture, culture here refers to ethnic culture. The assumption under the cultural definition of ethnicity is the presence of a closely knit community where members of an ethnic group are encultured and share an everyday life. When one focuses on immigrants leading a closely knit community life, cultural characteristics such as language and customs are easily observable. This, the assimilationists considered the problem that immigrants had brought to the host society. For the succeeding generations, loss of such traditional culture and community life were considered the indicators of assimilation to the larger society. Studies on cultural maintenance dealt with various aspects of culture, but they usually included patterns of behaviour in intra-group contacts and traditional culture of an ethnic group. Thus, questions were asked on factors relating to cultural maintenance such as endogamy, choice of friends, language fluency and use, use of ethnic media, religious practice, participation in ethnic organizations, foods etc. (Driedger, 1989: 148-55).

These studies focusing on traditional culture and community life found that the degree and kinds of cultural loss depend on the group and also individual characteristics such as generation and socio-economic status. Moreover, a new phenomenon - a resurgence of ethnicity - appeared when individuals seemed to have assimilated to the larger society, having lost traditional culture and community life of their ancestors. Frequently cited is Hansen's third generation return, which points to the resurgence of interest in the ancestors' history and culture in the third generation of immigrants in America. Petersen summmarizes the phenomenon: " . . . what the son wanted to forget, the grandson wanted to remember" (1980: 239). Other causes of a resurgence of ethnicity are the social climate and the state policy. It has simply become acceptable to talk about ethnicity. Petersen states:

> Why, contrary to almost every informed opinion, have recent years seen a reassertion of ethnicity? . . . . First, one should note that almost all the earlier doctrines - whether the melting

> pot or Marxism - typically evolved as support for a political position rather than as a purely objective analysis of the trend in interethnic relations. Even as ethnic identity was becoming more significant in the United States, attempts were being made, in conformance with national policy, to disguise the very existence of racial differences (1980: 238).

While deviation from total assimilation is evident in the resurgence of ethnicity, what seems to be reviving is not the exact repeat of the immigrant ancestors' way of life. In fact, resurgence of ethnicity provides the opportunity to closely look at the mechanism of ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is not a sum of common cultural patterns but it involves a subjective assessment of identity of an individual.

Isajiw notes that two approaches to the definition of ethnicity, namely objective and subjective, "reflect the two general theoretical trends in contemporary social sciences, the structural and the phenomenological methodologies" (1980: 17). In the same framework Juteau-Lee distinguishes objectively defined ethnicity as "the so-called 'givens,' such as biological traits and kinship ties, or elements of material culture, ways of acting, and behaving" and subjectively defined ethnicity as "individual identity and consciousness" (1984: 190-1).

Earlier, the objective definition of ethnic identity was predominant in ethnic studies, and accordingly the criteria for defining ethnicity were external characteristics of individuals such as "racial features . . . and cultural attributes" (Anderson, 1982: 6). For some, cultural assimilation to the larger society, however, does not necessarily eliminate their subjective identity (Isajiw, 1980: 22-3). For others, the individuals themselves may not even identify themselves according to their origin but they are identified by others as such, which is common among visible minorities and Mischlings - children of Jew and Gentile labelled by others as Jewish (Epstein, 1978: 102). With the subjective approach, the mechanism of ethnic identity, otherwise unexplained,

becomes clearer. The following section deals with this subjective approach to ethnic identity. Subjective ethnic identity, however, does not necessarily exclude objectively defined ethnic identity such as race, language, food etc. Subjective ethnic identity, in fact, may be based on the objective components of ethnic identity.

3. Psychological Aspect

Reflecting on European nation-states as ethnic groups, Weber takes a subjective view of formation of ethnic groups. According to Weber, an ethnic group is a status group and formation of a status group is made subjectively by "mutual consent" (1978a: 49). While allowing physical, cultural, or historical factors as possible reasons for the belief in common descent, Weber maintains a subjective approach to ethnicity. According to Weber:

> We shall call "ethnic groups" those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists (1978b: 389).

Therefore, Weber denies the biological explanation of ethnicity as van den Berghe does. Weber says of the subjective nature of the concept:

> Ethnic membership (*Gemeinsamkeit*) differs from the kinship group precisely by being a presumed identity, not a group with concrete social action, like the latter (1978b: 389).

Weber's subjective approach is focused on self identity - identity by the party within the ethnic category. For many immigrants to North America, however, ethnic consciousness starts developing when they come to a new country and experience cultural differences or

discrimination (Palmer, 1977: 177). Moreover, ethnic consciousness does not remain as an immigrant problem. The psychological aspect of ethnic identity has become the focus of attention with the observation that subjective identity and maintenance of traditional culture appear to be separate phenomena. Breton, Burnet, Hartmann, Isajiw, and Lennards in "The Impact of Ethnic Groups on Canadian Society" deny the assimilationists' assumption that ethnicity eventually disappears. Breton *et al.* maintain that: "Ethnicity presents itself as a problem of self definition, that is, of identity. In this sense cultural assimilation may create rather than eliminate the problem of ethnic identity." (1977: 197).

Isajiw defines ethnicity for North America in a combination of objective and subjective approaches. According to Isajiw, ethnicity refers to:

> an involuntary group of people who share the same culture or to descendants of such people who identify themselves and/or are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary group (1980: 24).

At the objective stage of definition Isajiw regards ethnicity as a real group, which is involuntary in nature and based on common culture. Isajiw states: ". . . a person is born into a group which shares certain cultural traits and therefore becomes socialized into them" (1980: 21). At the subjective stage of definition Isajiw notes that subjective identification by self and/or others may occur regardless of maintenance of traditional culture. Anderson uses two kinds of definition of ethnicity; definition "from the standpoint of the outside observer or from that of the ethnic individual"(6). Others also see this dichotomy of definition as "self-other" (Hughes and Kallen, 1974: 85). A discrepancy may exist between self-defined ethnicity and what others see. The development of ideas on ethnicity has lead us to the point where ethnicity is conceptualized in terms of subjective beliefs rather than just visible customs or common physical characteristics. It is clear that self identification with an ethnic group and

identification by others are not necessarily the same. Isajiw presents three kinds of subjective definition as self, others or both (1980: 10) and recognizes mutual stimulation between the self and the others (1980: 24). Epstein also notes: "In a polyethnic situation . . . the sense of ethnic identity is always in some degree a product of the interaction of inner perception and outer response, of forces operating on the individual and group from within, and those impinging on them from without" (1978: 101-102).

Subjective identity is an attitude. Attitudes have valence - either positive or negative. There is a view that self-identity is positive and identity by others is negative (Makabe, 1978: 106). Self-imposed negative identity as well as other-imposed positive identity, however, also exists. The former is evident in stigma members of dominated groups may have; the latter is, or at least was, common in the respect for things English and the privileges Americans received in Canada (Burnet, 1981: 28-30).

In response to the phenomenon of a resurgence of ethnicity is a view that assimilation is in progress and such a phenomenon, if occurring, does not interfere with daily life. Dealing with third and fourth generation Americans of European descent, thus excluding racial minorities, Gans calls the phenomenon "symbolic ethnicity" (1979). According to Gans:

> . . . a new kind of ethnic involvement may be occurring, which emphasizes concern with identity, with the feeling of being Jewish or Italian, etc. Since ethnic identity needs are neither intense nor frequent in this generation, however, ethnics do not need either ethnic cultures or organizations; instead, they resort to the use of ethnic symbols (1979: 1).

Gans rejects the economic and political function of ethnicity because he regards it as relevant only for poorer segments of society (1979: 4) and suggests:

> . . . as the functions of ethnic cultures and groups diminish and identity becomes the primary way of being ethnic, ethnicity takes on an expressive rather than instrumental function in people's lives, becoming more of a leisure-time activity and losing its relevance, say, to earning a living or regulating family life (1979: 9).

Thus, symbolic ethnicity, according to Gans, is based on ethnic awareness, is only expressive, and does not require commitment. And interestingly, while discussing various forms of symbolic ethnicity appearing in America and the liberal social climate for their appearance, Gans concludes: ". . . symbolic ethnicity cannot be considered as evidence either of a third generation return or a revival" (1979: 17).

Like Gans's view of symbolic ethnicity, Weinfeld regards ethnicity as an "affective" attribute and does not recognize its substance in real life:

> Ethnic identities are good things, all more or less equal - all link an individual to a past, a history, a heritage. Yet ethnicity's strength would seem to be its weakness, its marginality to the central concerns facing post-industrial humans - occupation, choice of spouse and friends, place to live, language, etc. Ethnicity becomes an "affective" attribute, lending distinctiveness to individual identity when most roads to achievement and social acceptance seem those of conformity and convention (1979: 93).

The above studies focus on the psychological aspect of ethnic identity and suggest psychological ethnic identity may remain after cultural assimilation. But one must ask. Is ethnic identity nostalgic or attitudinal? Petersen notes:

> . . . it would be fanciful to suppose . . . that the rise of ethnicity in the United States and throughout most of the world was due

> solely to a postponed search for roots. Obviously more is at stake than sentiment" (1980: 239).

Juteau-Lee describes the recent view of ethnicity and states:

> Ethnicity is no longer being viewed as a natural attribute, an essence that gives birth to unalterable behavioural patterns and to primordial ties. . . . Since ethnic ties are no longer considered as inevitable, it follows that their explanation is imperative. Ethnicity is a social fact, and as such, it must be explained in terms of another social fact (1984: 191).

Although primordial ethnic sentiment may well exist in contemporary society, one cannot ignore ethnic consciousness in relation to the structural factors of the society. In fact, the political aspect of ethnic identity, that is political consciousness and action for the own group, would be inevitable if assimilation is truly progressing as Gans maintains. When members of an ethnic group are assimilated to a society such as Canada whose culture values democratic rights, they are likely to become aware of their rights. Then, their ethnic identity together with political consciousness may also rise.

4. Political Aspect

Juteau-Lee's notion of *groupes nationalitaires* is relevant to the question of political ethnicity. According to Juteau-Lee, ethnic groups remain in the sphere of tradition where they are concerned with reproduction (1984: 195). On the other hand, there are groups which exert an action in the political sphere where they become bearers of their history. Such groups are differentiated into two types: *groupes nationalitaires* and nations; the first do not question the legitimacy of the state while the second control the state (1984: 195). Ethnic groups exercising a political action within the Canadian state are *groupes nationalitaires*, and this is the orientation of political action we now deal with. As Isajiw suggests, "the dichotomy of private and public spheres" (1978:

36) is important in analyzing ethnicity. The private sphere is within an ethnic community or an individual, whereas ethnicity in relation to power in the larger society is in the public sphere. Some ethnic group activities have an impact not only within the ethnic community but also in the larger society. Accordingly, the approach to ethnicity has also been modified. We now shift our attention from inside the ethnic community or individuals to the larger society. We deal with ethnicity in the public sphere.

Strong focuses on the political aspect of ethnicity and states:

> . . . the salience of ethnicity in industrial societies is related to the use of ethnicity by social actors as a political resource in social conflict over the structural allocation and distribution of resources within an industrialized democratic state (1984: iv).

It is an aspiration for power rather than the actual power that an ethnic group holds that brings public recognition of ethnic issues. Conversely an ethnic group needs power in the first place to bring itself to the public sphere. Isajiw notes, "Ethnicity in North American societies has come to be relegated to the private sphere . . .", but he maintains " . . . the more power an ethnic group has in society, the closer it will be to the public sphere" (1978: 36-37). Reitz also finds the above pattern in his data of urban ethnic groups:

> In the South European and Chinese communities (those of lowest status), ethnic identification tends to undermine participation in Canadian politics. For those who have stayed attached to higher status groups, ethnic origin is virtually irrelevant in determining political participation (228).

The above idea, conversely, suggests that emergence of political ethnicity itself may be a sign of growing ethnic group power.

Weber considers an ethnic group a particular form of a status group. In Weber's definition ethnicity is subjectively determined and its function is political as exemplified by European nationalism (Isajiw, 1979: 13). Weber maintains that differences in race or culture are not the ultimate determinants of ethnic identity, but rather it is political beliefs that matter. In many modern societies in the world, however, ethnicity and state are not the same. For example, countries such as Canada and the U.S.A. are known for their ethnic diversity and an ethnic group is perceived not as a state but as a subgroup of a larger society (Theodorson, 1969: 135). The idea that ethnic groups exist within a larger society, however, does not deny political power they may exercise within the society. Glazer and Moynihan state:

> . . . *interest* is pursued effectively by *ethnic groups* today as well as by *interest*-defined groups . . . . since each group had a different history, these groups were differently distributed in the various social positions of society. As a result, the ethnic group *could* become a focus of mobilization for the pursuit of group or individual interests (1975: 7-8).

In Canada ethnic ties may be strengthened by affirmation of the principles of legal acceptance and social desirability of ethnic origin (Weinfeld, 1981). Isajiw mentions the effect of multiculturalism in shifting the issue of ethnicity from the private sphere to the public. According to Isajiw:

> The Multiculturalism movement, as a political movement, seeks public recognition for ethnic groups as part of the total society. Hence, what the ethnic rediscoverers are doing, in effect, is attempting to bring community itself out of the private sphere (1978: 37).

In "Ethnic Identity Retention", a study of both external (behavioural) and internal (attitudinal) aspects of ethnic identity of some major ethnic groups in Toronto, Isajiw

shows: " . . . in all generations large percentages of ethnic identity retention cannot be explained by socialization alone" (1981: 85). The above finding indicates the need for consideration of factors other than the characteristics of the family or ethnic community concerning the retention of ethnic identity. Moreover, ethnic identity is not a one-way phenomenon of retained or lost, but it may appear among those who lost it once. Ethnicity is not a static concept, but a dynamic one. As Juteau-Lee notes: "Ethnic ties appear, disappear, and reappear" (1984: 191). In the following section the social contexts for ethnic identity of Japanese Canadians as one of the "other" ethnic groups are discussed.

B. Contexts for Ethnic Identity of Japanese Canadians

Ethnic identity is neither simply a fixed ascriptive or primordial phenomenon nor simply a situational phenomenon: it is the combination of both. It is commonly believed in North America that visible minorities cannot escape external judgment of their ethnic identity and that for them this visible aspect plays a large role in formation of their ethnic identity. At the same time, one cannot ignore the situational aspect of ethnic identity even for visible minorities. Thernstrom *et al.*, although themselves assuming physical invisibility as a premise for a flexible definition of ethnic identity, note the dynamic aspect of ethnic identity:

> Ethnic identification, even when ethnic heritage is unmixed or fully understood, is a matter of individual choice, ratified on a continuum from passive acquiescence to active participation, from denial through mild curiosity to passionate commitment. It may change over time and may vary from one situation to another (1980: vii).

In the following, attempts are made to understand the present contexts for ethnic identity of Japanese Canadians. In the first section a literature review is presented to

outline how the two spheres of resources in society, namely material and non-material, are distributed to so-called "other", that is, non-charter and non-native, ethnic groups in Canada. The second section focuses on particular contexts for Japanese Canadians among the other ethnic groups.

1. Reality for "Other" Ethnic Groups in Canada

Canada is neither a country with an official racist ideology and practice nor a utopia for all. On the one hand, the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms protects individual rights regardless of ascriptive characteristics such as ethnic origins. And the Charter together with the 1971 multiculturalism policy, accept and support the multicultural nature and heritage of Canada. In general, individuals are entitled to pursue socio-economic opportunity and to maintain their ethnic heritage if they wish. On the other hand, the ethnic composition of the elitest and the most disadvantaged segments of the society appear to remain unchanged, and prejudice and discrimination against minority ethnic groups persists.

Ethnic identity of "other" ethnic groups may remain because of the persistent inequality, but ethnic identity may also remain because of the relatively liberal social climate of Canada which allows ethnic identity to come out of the closet. It is in this context of limited but still prevailing egalitarianism of today that studies of ethnic identity of "other" ethnic groups must be understood.

a) Material resources: individual meritocracy for mass and social closure for elites

On the one hand, empirical evidence indicates that the elitest segment of Canadian society is virtually closed to members of non-charter groups. According to Dahlie and Fernando:

> . . . even those who argue against Porter's analysis fail to counter Porter's crucial point that noncharter group Canadians are severely underrepresented in areas of political and economic decision-making (1981: 3).

On the other hand, Porter's ethnically blocked thesis - occupational class is determined by ethnicity - has been called to question lately. Comparing census data from 1931 to 1961, Porter concludes:

> Within the total occupational system the vertical mosaic can be summed up as follows: ". . . the proportion of British in each class generally increases from the lowest to the highest class whereas the reverse is true for the French. The Jewish group follows a pattern similar to that of the British whereas all other origins follow the French pattern" (1965: 90).

Porter's thesis is re-examined by Darroch (1979) using different measures from Porter's. Darroch shows that ". . . neither the measured occupational dissimilarity between ethnic groups nor the inequality in occupational ranks of immigrant groups is very great" (1979: 1). Thus, Darroch concludes: ". . . in Canada as a whole it is an exaggeration of any data available to date to suggest that ethnic affiliations can be counted as a primary factor sustaining structures of class or status" (1979: 22). However, in his analysis of 1981 census data in Canada Li finds visible ethnicity a factor in income inequality. According to Li:

> The two non-white ethnic groups, Chinese and blacks, have an educational level higher than the national average. . . . Despite the educational advantage, both groups suffer a loss of income due to their origin when education differences are accounted for. When variations in all variables are adjusted for, both

> groups still suffer the worst income discrimination which is attributable to their origin (1988: 136-7).

Li's findings suggest that ethnicity cannot be ignored as a factor in income inequality. Ethnicity, however, is not the determining cause of class. According to Li: ". . . ethnicity is only one of the many sources of income inequality. Class and schooling account for a large part of the variations in income" (1988: 127). Therefore, Li concludes: "Although ethnicity makes a difference in Canada, it cannot be said, on the basis of the 1981 Census data, that social class is determined by ethnicity" (1988: 139).

Life chances of Canadians are generally open although ethnicity is still one of the factors influencing class position of individuals and the elitest segment in society where non-charter ethnic groups are virtually excluded. Focusing on Asians, we find the general upward mobility over the post-World War II era. Even within Porter's analysis (1965: 87) it is found that Asians were 4.3% under represented in 1931 but 1.7% over represented in 1961 in the professional and financial occupational class. The same data show the reverse for the primary and unskilled occupational class: Asians were 10.2% over represented in 1931 but 3.6% under represented in 1961.

b) <u>Non-material resources: cultural pluralism and ethnic status ranking</u>

"[Ethnic] consciousness of the late sixties and early seventies" (Thernstrom, Orlov and Handlin, 1980: v) in America also hit Canada. Although the multi-ethnic composition of Canada had long been a reality, the reality started to be revealed only recently by both international and domestic factors. Burnet lists such factors:

> . . . the decline of Great Britain as a world power, the rise of nationalist feeling throughout the world, the Black Revolution in the United States, the Quiet Revolution in Quebec, upward mobility of sons and grandsons of early non-British, non-French

> immigrants and most of all, massive postwar immigration (Burnet, 1981: 34).

At the time, ". . . the state intervened substantially to restructure and reorient the symbolic order . . ." (Breton, 1984: 129). The British blood and culture having been so rigidly believed to be superior gradually gave way to more tolerant Canadian identity which could encompass various ethnic groups. Introduction of the multiculturalism policy was one of such changes in Canadian society. Breton states:

> . . . when the policy on multiculturalism was introduced, the non-British, non-French element was not primarily concerned with cultural maintenance. Rather, a status anxiety existed, fear of being defined as second-class citizens, marginal to the identity system that was being established. . . . One of its objectives was to affirm symbolically that Canadian society is open to all cultural identities, indicating its recognition of them all, and the implications of cultural equality (1984: 134).

As previously mentioned in CHAPTER II, the purpose of the multiculturalism policy when introduced in 1971 was to integrate new immigrants to Canadian life and to assure all Canadians freedom to retain and share their cultural heritage with others so that individuals would develop their own cultural identity and make other Canadians aware of cultural diversity in Canada. The first purpose of aiding integration of new immigrants such as learning of the official languages still continues, but the second purpose of cultural heritage preservation and sharing is less emphasized and programmes such as songs and dances are not funded any longer. Instead, a new focus is placed on human rights issues to fight discrimination against visible minorities (Retson, 1990: E2).

Some opponents of the views of cultural pluralism believe in a homogeneous society based on individual freedom and equality. Patterson, for example, criticizes the

search for ethnic identity among minority groups and maintains that the only society which can provide scope for individual freedom, prosperity, and creativity is "the universalist culture of a democratic and egalitarian state" (1977: 185). Porter also takes the universalistic ideal and opposes cultural pluralism. Porter states:

> It would seem then that the promotion of flourishing ethnic communities is directly opposed to absorption, assimilation, integration, and acculturation and could lead to a permanent ethnic stratification and thus is likely to interfere with the political goal of individual equality (1980, 328).

Porter considers ethnic communities as the cause of ethnic stratification and thus maintains that they need to be dissolved for individual social mobility. Porter's view is based on his concept of ethnicity. In Porter's view ethnic culture is maintained in a biological descent group which excludes others by endogamy (1980: 331). Thus, Porter rejects maintenance of culture and endogamy for they are forms of exclusion.

The shortcoming of the universalism thesis is that it presents a false picture of ethnic groups and confuses the ideal and reality. Ethnic groups in North America are neither biological descent groups nor culturally uniform groups. The biological definition of ethnic groups is often a product of outsiders' attempts to discriminate against certain groups. Maintenance of pure traditional culture, as Porter implicates, is not practiced and almost impossible if interaction among different groups is to occur. Culture is not the static concept Porter believes it to be. We must also recognize that universalism is an ideal not reality. Human beings are not necessarily impartial in their behaviour. Knowing the egalitarian principle, people may not act according to this principle. Conflicts over power often result in behaviour contradictory to democratic ideology. For example, anti-Japanese regulations such as the Alien Land Acts that was passed in the California legislature did not bring profit to anybody and nobody was keen about the law itself (Simpson and Yinger, 1958: 131). Creating the anti-Japanese law

was used simply to attract anti-Japanese votes. The politicians skillfully disguised the division between social classes, which was the real issue, by using anti-Japanese sentiments of the time. Economic and political reasoning may provide a rationale for discrimination against the Japanese, but some acts of discrimination are not even rational. For example, economic reasons may be used to explain the firing of skilled and cheap Japanese sawmill workers during the Depression, but the fact that more expensive and often less skilled white workers were kept in sawmills instead of the Japanese cannot be explained in economic terms only. Hiring discrimination was sometimes promoted by irrational fear of immigrants.

Cultural pluralism as a state policy provides a legitimate framework for egalitarianism, and minority cultural and political rights in Canada. A liberal social climate expressed in the multiculturalism policy has led to changes in immigration policy and in the demographic composition of Canadian society in the post-World War II era and to a more positive attitudes toward so-called "other" ethnic groups - non-charter immigrant ethnic groups, which constituted one-third of the population by 1971 (Christopher, 1987: 333-4, 341). Strong maintains:

> Incorporation of cultural diversity is most important to the so called 'non-charter' Canadians whose languages have no official status. The political activity of this segment of Canadian population has kept multicultural issues in the public forum (89-90).

Criticism of the multiculturalism policy has focused on power allocation. Power, especially political power, has not yet been allocated equally and the emphasis of the policy seems to be on expressive culture retention and public display. The policy is in the hands of the dominant group and it will remain so, as long as the dominant group holds secure power. That is, once the power of the dominant group is endangered, there is no

guarantee of multiculturalism. Peter points to the weakness of multiculturalism because it does not focus on equal distribution of material power among ethnic groups. Peter says:

> That "we" and "they" syndrome, the notion of Canadian society on the one hand and the existence of ethnic groups as something independent of this society on the other is a most devious concept. It relegates the role of ethnic groups to that of contributors of quaint cultural practices and upholders of individual identities, while at the same time it denies them a political and economic reality in Canadian life (1981: 57).

Lupul also focuses on material power and criticizes implementation of the policy as not promoting sharing of power. According to Lupul:

> A deeper appreciation of multiculturalism as the sharing of power and opportunity is therefore essential if ethnic pluralism in Canada is to receive the attention accorded to religious and political pluralism (1982: 101).

The ultimate goal of the multiculturalism policy does not remain simply cultural; rather it is political. This raises questions about inequality in society. Both functionalists and Marxists find inequality in society corresponding with the class position and ethnic status of an ethnic group. Thus, functionalists believe ethnicity should be eliminated if one wishes to achieve social mobility, while Marxists believe class inequality itself is to be eliminated. These ideas, however, can be questioned on the basis of data showing only small socio-economic differences among various ethnic groups in Canada (Darroch, 1979). In some cases a discrepancy is found between socio-economic status and ethnic status. Jews, Chinese, and Japanese are known to have relatively high socio-economic status (Driedger, 1989: 312) but are located low at the hierarchy of social standing (Pineo, 1977: 267). Thus, conceptual separation of class and ethnicity is essential when we deal with the relationship between them. Some

scholars maintain that class and ethnicity are not reducible to each other although they may influence each other (Driedger,1989; van den Berghe, 1981; Weber, 1978b). This approach has the advantage that it can deal not only with the material order but also with the non-material order of power.

Abu-Laban and Mottershead (1981) examine types of pluralism and recognize a movement towards "integrated pluralism" in Canada. In their view of "integrated pluralism", unity and diversity are applied to separate domains of life. Abu-Laban and Mottershead cite Canada as an example of a society with integrated pluralism:

> In an 'integrated pluralist' society, economic and political rewards are allocated on the basis of universalistic standards of performance - on individual merit, not group membership. However, official societal norms recognize the right of every ethnic group to take pride in and develop its religious, cultural and linguistic heritage, while at the same time emphasizing the goal of integration and unity within the context of diversity (1981: 53).

Unity is sought in the economic and political, that is material, spheres of life, while diversity is accepted in the cultural, that is non-material sphere of life in Canada. Then, it is assumed that stratification based on individual merit in the material sphere of life is acceptable but cultural differences are not to be used to stratify individuals in Canada.

Despite multiculturalism policy, ethnic status ranking and prejudice toward ethnic minorities, especially non-white racial minorities, remains. Brym states: "According to one survey . . . a full 31 per cent of Canadians supported the idea of an all-white Canada. . . ." (1989: 105). According to Pineo's finding, visible minority groups are located at the lowest in social standing in both English Canada and French Canada (1977).

The recent renaissance of ethnic groups is a search for egalitarianism in both the material and non-material realms of power. The policy of multiculturalism has had important implications for both the material and non-material spheres. On the one hand, the policy is weak because only expression of cultural heritage is recognized for non-charter ethnic groups. Unlike bilingualism which is instrumental for social mobility of French Canadians, multiculturalism has no direct material implication. On the other hand, the policy of multiculturalism guaranteed minorities freedom to express their identity and rights by redistributing status among ethnic groups (Breton, 1983: 29). This aspect of status redistribution is important since it can break ethnic prejudice and discrimination against members of minorities, which still persist even after cultural assimilation.

2. Particular to Japanese Canadians

About three fourths of the Japanese Canadian population at present consists of pre-World War II immigrants and their descendants and only one fourth consists of post-World War II immigrants and their descendants. Among the "other" ethnic groups, the Japanese belong to visible minorities. For visible minorities integration in the larger society is not always easy, because prejudice and discrimination is a heavier burden for them. Prejudice and discrimination against the Japanese were severe before the end of World War II on the west coast, where they faced unfair hiring custom and wage, an anti-Asian movement, and lack of the franchise. The climax of many incidents of discrimination against Japanese Canadians, however, came with Pearl Harbour. As previously discussed in CHAPTER II, the impact of the war-time exclusion experience on Japanese Canadians is enormous: forced relocation and dispersion, destroying the west coast community and depriving the properties, not only affected the economic aspect but also the psychological aspect of life of Japanese Canadians. Angry as they were, many Japanese Canadians remained silent and tried to recover their lives in a new

environment. Some protested the mistreatment by the government but found their efforts to be in vain. Others were afraid of a white backlash. Many others simply tried to forget. This is especially evident among the second generation who were hurt most since many of them were young adults at the time of exclusion. They grew up as Canadians and yet were not treated as Canadians. Dispersed across Canada by the order of the federal government, a small minority lost many aspects of community life, which, on the one hand, included loss of culture and weakening of organizational capacity. On the other hand, economic opportunity increased after the war and young Japanese Canadians could move into the economic structure of the larger society. Thus, socio-economic achievement and loss of Japanese culture and community progressed at the same time. When the multiculturalism policy was announced, the younger Japanese Canadians, the third generation, did not know much about Japanese culture or the history of their parents and grandparents.

If " . . . the declining importance of ethnic constraints serves as a condition for the emergence of ethnic consciousness" (Isajiw & Makabe, 1982: 3), it is expected that ethnic consciousness of Japanese Canadians would exist rather than disappear today. It is clear that contemporary Japanese Canadians, particularly the third generation and thereafter, have relatively fewer constraints as minority group members than the immigrant generation or the second generation who had to face severe discrimination and strong forces of assimilation before World War II. Overt discrimination against any minority group member is discouraged in a relatively tolerant social climate in Canada, which has made Japanese Canadians, already immersed in the British way, some not even knowing the Japanese way, free from efforts of assimilation into Canadian culture that their ancestors tried so hard to achieve. In this sense, the third generation Japanese Canadians could develop ethnic consciousness without constraints.

Gans makes this point clearer in his discussion of the concept of Americanization. The essence of Americanization is forced cultural assimilation without total acceptance in

the structure of the larger society. Canadianization, while not being a common term used to explain assimilation in to Canadian society, existed as much as Americanization and still exists to a certain degree. Americanization, like assimilation and acculturation, is criticized as "a form of domestic imperialism or colonialism", which consists of contradictory conditions made in "an arrogant dismissal of any possible virtues of their native cultures and an insistence that they recast themselves as Americans", but with "no intention of accepting the members of the new groups as equals" (Glazer, 1977: 4). Gans has a less critical view of Americanization and perceives it as transient reality for immigrants. Although originally limited in its perspective of dealing only with European Americans, in Gans's view "'the Americanization cultures', the immigrant experience and adjustment in America" (1979: 6) in generational contexts could be applied to Americans and Canadians of other origins. Gans notes that:

> The old ethnic cultures serve no useful function for third generation ethnics who lack direct and indirect ties to the old country, and neither need nor have much knowledge about it. Similarly, the Americanization cultures have little meaning for people who grew up without the familial conflict over European and American ways that beset their fathers and mothers: the second generation which fought with and was often ashamed of immigrant parents (1979: 6).

Following this line of thought the third generation have lost the traditional ethnic culture but they are also free from shame or efforts to get rid of it. Once their cultural assimilation is complete, the third generation can face ethnic identity securely. For Japanese Canadians these generational patterns of assimilation and the changing social climate toward minorities had cumulative effects. The second generation, whose majority grew up before World War II, were made to believe in assimilation and had to face the cultural gap with immigrant parents at the same time. The third generation, who grew

up in a more egalitarian social climate, were relatively free from either of the above efforts. The third generation Japanese Canadians are, however, still visible as endogamy was the rule for the second generation. Indeed, ethnic consciousness of the third generation may arise as a consequence of security or as a consequence of prejudice toward them.

C. Socio-Economic Status and Ethnic Identity

1. Socio-Economic Status and Ethnic Identity as Separate Concepts

Van den Berghe maintains that class and ethnicity are independent of each other. According to van den Berghe: "The two principal modes of collective organization in complex societies are ethnicity and class. The former is based on some notion of common kinship; the latter on common interest" (1981: 241).

Following the Weberian perspective, an ethnic group is a status group. Although ethnic stratification has existed in various degrees, the class situation an ethnic group faces should be analytically separated from their ethnicity itself. The meaning and usage of the terms class and status are not uniform in the sociological literature. As Polenberg notes: " . . . ever since Max Weber first criticized Marxist theory, sociologists have differed sharply over the meaning of class and its relationship to status and power" (1980: 8). According to Weber, class division is made objectively according to the nature of property and services, while the formation of status groups is made subjectively by "mutual consent" (1978a: 49). From another perspective, "a class itself is not a community" (Weber, 1978a: 46), but a status group is a community which can be grasped. For Weber, status groups unlike classes are normally communities, though often of an amorphous kind where status evaluation is "based on some common characteristics shared by many people" (1978a: 48). While the content

of shared characteristics is discussed somewhat ambiguously as some common characteristics", the process of status formation is clearly described by Weber as "an action based on mutual consent" (1978a: 49). Accordingly for Weber, status groups and classes are interrelated through the medium of power. A status group may control certain economic power, while status may be achieved via the class route. Weber's analysis of economic factors, which is found in the relation between class and status groups is useful in the study. As Gerth and Mills put it, a distinction is made between "economic", "economically determined", and "economically relevant" (1958: 47). Status groups are independent of purely economic classes while they may reflect economic factors. In consequence, achieved socio-economic status may not only give minority individuals economic power but also lead them to political and social power.

In the following section, studies of the relationship between socio-economic status and ethnic identity are reviewed. The phenomenon, however, is complex. Van den Berghe states:

> . . . the interplay of class and ethnicity is probably the most difficult problem facing the analysis of complex societies. Empirically, a complete range of situations is found, ... (1981: 244).

2. The Primacy of Ethnic Identity or Socio-Economic Status

As described previously, studies of inequality in society take ethnic identity as an independent variable. It is presumed that what hinders individual social mobility is minority culture and group cohesion. Porter takes this view (1980: 328). The interpretation of Marxists is the reverse: ethnicity is used as a mark of exploitation and it is economic inequality not ethnicity itself that is to be blamed. Thus, ethnic stratification is reducible to class. When the relationship between socio-economic status

and ethnicity is positive, the functionalist interpretation holds that individual merit, not ethnicity, is the basis for economic merit.

. It is necessary to consider the context of the relationship between socio-economic status and ethnicity when one investigates this relationship. Van den Berghe maintains:

> . . . it is impossible and unwise to declare that one factor is more important than the other. The relative salience of class and ethnicity varies from case to case, and from time to time (1981: 244).

In Canada today the relationship between class and ethnicity is neither zero nor perfect. Neither class nor ethnicity determines each other, yet each has some influence on the other.

Contrary to Porter's vertical mosaic thesis, the role of ethnicity as a determinant of life chances is declining in Canada lately (Darroch, 1979; Brym, 1989: 107,109). Li supports this view by stating: "Although ethnicity makes a difference in Canada, it cannot be said, on the basis of the 1981 Census data, that social class is determined by ethnicity" (1988: 139).

Pineo finds that higher consensus is acquired in ranking among occupations than ranking among ethnic groups in his sample of respondents and states:

> In so far as the assumption that consensus (and knowledge) imply social importance is valid, the ranking of ethnic and racial groupings appears to be a less crucial element in Canadian social structure than the ranking of occupations (1977: 157).

Goldstein supports Pineo's findings. Goldstein measures the importance of three indicators of social standing - ethnicity, occupation, and nativity - and finds in his western Canadian sample: ". . . the occupation of the target person accounted for roughly twice the variations in social standing ratings that could be accounted by ethnicity . . ." (1988: 66).

Based on the above reasoning and findings, the relationship between socio-economic status and ethnic identity is reconsidered. When ethnicity is considered to be the independent variable, it commonly indicates ethnic origin or status group, which is examined as the source of socio-economic inequality between ethnic categories (Porter, 1965; Darroch, 1979; Li, 1988). Despite the fact that ethnicity as the determinant of socio-economic status does not hold as widely as before, the relationship between them does seem to exist. When ethnicity is the dependent variable, ethnicity indicates a wide range of aspects of ethnicity such as traditional cultural maintenance and subjective identity of individuals to association for a political action. In the following, studies having ethnic identity as a dependent variable are reviewed.

3. Ethnic Identity as a Dependent Variable

Previous studies put forward opposing views about the relationship between socio-economic status and ethnic identity. Sometimes this relationship is negative; sometimes it is positive.

Some studies have shown assimilationist patterns in that measures of ethnic identity tend to vary inversely with the individual's socio-economic status. Makabe investigated ethnic identity of Nisei in Toronto. She examined the relationship between ethnic identity and mobility measured as inter-generational occupational mobility and residential mobility. A composite measure of ethnic identity involved five components - ethnic socialization, language retention, involvement and participation in ethnic institutions and organizations, in-group friendship choice, and subjective ethnic identity. Makabe's finding is that: ". . . ethnic group identity is weakened with social mobility" (1979: 136).

O'Bryan, Reitz and Kuplowska studied ten non-charter ethnic groups in five Canadian cities in *Non-Official Languages: A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism* (1976) and found that level of education generally has a weak but negative relationship

to knowledge and support for retention of non-official languages although the relationship differs among generations and from group to group (49, 50, 108, 109, 157).

Reitz provides empirical evidence of a negative relationship between socio-economic status and ethnic identity. In *The Survival of Ethnic Groups* (1980) Reitz, using data from the study *Non-Official Languages* (O'Bryan *et al.*, 1976) measured ethnic group attachment with in-group interaction and ethnic identification, measured socio-economic status with job status and income, and found that "The maintenance of group ties in the middle class is about a third less frequent than in the working class . . . ." (186).

Weinfeld (1981) found an assimilationist pattern of ethnic identity in terms of generation and education for a sample of Slavic, Jewish and Italian householders in Toronto:

> Measures of ethnic residential segregation, ethnic language use, involvement in the ethnic community, ethnic homogeneity of friendship networks and social distance, are in general negatively associated with native birth and high education (80).

Studies of people of Japanese origin in North American show assimilation progressing among them. Montero examined data from a three- generational study of Japanese Americans collected in the mid 1960s and found that " . . . on every indicator of assimilation it is the socioeconomically successful Nisei who are the most cut off from the ethnic community" (1980: 88). Montero equated assimilation with the loss of ethnic contacts. According to Montero's findings, socio-economic achievement in education and occupation was associated with loss of contacts with Japanese relatives, not choosing Japanese organizations as their favourite, choosing non-Japanese as best friends, and choosing a non-Japanese spouse (1980: 81-3).

There is a contrasting view that individuals with high socio-economic status retain or tend to have high ethnic identity.

4. Affective Ethnicity

Some attitudinal aspects of ethnic identity, such as ethnic self identity labels and salience of ethnic identity, appear to remain after behavioural assimilation into the larger society. Some scholars postulate that these aspects of ethnic identity remain because they are without commitment and without conflict with more important material aspects of everyday life.

Makabe (1978) interviewed 100 Nisei in Toronto and found that 66% of the respondents had a dual identity comprised of "Japanese-Canadian" or "Canadian first, Japanese second" (112). Analyzing the responses qualitatively, Makabe finds respondents with such double ethnic identity positive in their response, whereas she finds those who define themselves "simply Canadian" or "Japanese" negative. Makabe suggests:

> . . . economic mobility has not necessarily weakened ethnic-subjective awareness. The mobile Nisei have achieved financial and psychological security, and this security is reflected in their subjective-ethnic identification. They claim that they would rather be both Japanese and Canadian than to be exclusively one or the other (1978: 119).

Exceptions were found within the general findings of assimilationist patterns between socio-economic status and ethnic identity. Weinfeld studied ethnic identification of Jews, Slavs and Italians living in Toronto and first found an assimilationist pattern that "high levels of ethnic identification are associated with immigrant status and lower levels of education" (1981: 92). Weinfeld, however, also found in the same study that "Many native-born Torontonians with above-average educational attainment select an ethnic-origin label and indicate attitudinal support for the principles of multiculturalism" (1981: 92). Finding behavioural assimilation to the larger society on the one hand and a pluralist attitude on the other hand, Weinfeld suggests that

"Ethnicity becomes an 'affective' attribute, lending distinctiveness to individual identity when most roads to achievement and social acceptance seem those of conformity and convention" (1981: 93).

Another study by H. Z. Borowski shows that, contrary to the assimilationist view, the 1980 Self-Identification Study conducted in Edmonton "did not support the view that high ranking on the socioeconomic variables [education, occupation, and income] would be associated with Canadian Identification" (1981: 73). In the 1978 Edmonton Area Study Borowski also found a similar result that neither education nor occupation were related to ethnic self-identification (1981: 73).

What may explain these exceptions to assimilationist patterns? Breton *et.al.* suggest:

> . . . for many immigrants ethnic identity may develop within, rather than outside of the host society. Likewise, under some conditions increased social mobility may stimulate rather than diminish ethnic consciousness (1977: 197).

Weinfeld suggests that a disjunction exists between behavioural and attitudinal indicators of ethnic identification and that "ethnic self-identification" is "less likely to vary as assimilationists postulate" (1981: 80). He points out that, for some ethnic group members, socio-economic status even relates positively to attitudinal ethnic identity. Weinfeld, however, does not mention what behaviour or action may follow from that ethnic identity.

Reitz examined the strength of ethnic group cohesion in *The Survival of Ethnic Groups* (1980). Reitz's measure of ethnic identity includes both an attitude, that is ethnic identification, and behaviour, that is, in-group interaction. While finding an overall negative relationship between socio-economic status and the above indicators of ethnic identity, Reitz suggests that a substantial proportion of middle-class people have

high ethnic group attachment. According to Reitz, "Many people who hold reasonably high level jobs nevertheless keep ties to a minority ethnic community; they do this not only by identifying with the community, but also through many formal and informal relationships" (1980: 186).

Contrary to scholars who presume that economic factors are only significant to heightened ethnicity among the working-class, Reitz points to the economic dimension of ethnic identity among the middle-class such as economic segregation of the Jews and job discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin (1980: 180-4). Ethnic minorities, especially visible minorities, are the easy target of job discrimination. And individuals in the middle class are not necessarily free from discrimination because they may still be considered inferior by the dominant group members or, if not considered inferior, they may be a likely cause of insecurity in the dominant group members who now have to compete against them on the equal grounds. According to Reitz, ". . . members of a group may become more sensitive to discrimination once they have achieved middle-class status than they are in the working class" (1980: 184). If socio-economic achievement of ethnic minorities is accompanied by cultural assimilation, including belief in the democratic principle of Canada, discrimination would certainly hit those in the middle class harder.

5. Political Ethnicity

Unlike the view that ethnic identity is subjectively important but not the central concern of life, studies focusing on the political aspects of ethnic identity recognize its significance. Ethnic identity here is not simply a trivial residue from the past as the functionalists assume, but is a factor in the control of resource allocation in society. Two kinds of resources are identified - material and symbolic.

Conflicts based on ethnic lines exist in both the United States and Canada. The phenomenon, however, has contrasting interpretations in the two countries. In the

United States ethnic conflicts are often considered as a working-class phenomenon because Blacks struggling for economic and political power dominate attention. When the phenomenon of middle-class ethnicity such as ethnic revival or symbolic ethnicity is recognized, it is considered unrelated to economic or political interest and explained in terms of cultural interest. In Canada ethnic conflicts are often considered as a middle-class phenomenon and having economic and political impact because of the most articulated problem French-English relations (Gans, 1979; Clairmont & Wien, 1980: 309; Reitz, 1980: 180, 184). Reitz suggests:

> In Canada, to a greater extent than in the US, middle-class ethnic cohesion may be given impetus by a class-like conflict with other groups, rather than by cultural forces *per se* (1980: 184).

Members of ethnic minorities do not necessarily become isolated from the rest of the group when they achieve socio-economic status in the larger society, they may instead become leaders of the group. This may be more likely if the individual cannot escape identification as a minority group member. It is worth noting that here the function of the status group is to understand and deal with barriers to them even after socio-economic achievement. Social closure, exercised by a status group has its effects in the economic and the political spheres as well as the social sphere. "Exclusionary social closure is thus action by a status group designed to secure for itself certain resources and advantages at the expense of other groups" (Parkin, 1982:100). In other words the process of social closure is to get "rewards and privileges to a limited circle" with "legal backing" (Parkin, 1982:100-101).

The particular characteristic to be employed in social closure, according to Weber, is arbitrary. Parkin, however, considers the power of the state: " . . . the excluded group has already at some time been defined as inferior by the state" (1982: 102). Social closure is thus viewed as an effective vehicle for a status group already in

power to keep and further acquire economic and political advantages. It should be noted that the degree of social closure may vary according to the economic climate (Parkin,1982: 99). Economic depression is often a factor behind a social exclusion aimed at an "enemy group". For example, support of the K.K.K. in the American South and Hitler's scapegoat logic are associated with fear toward the enemy group and an economically unstable situation. Using this status group approach, Kordan sees stratification as based on social closure. He refers to the dominant group's denial of minority ethnicity as the reason why ethnic elites have not formed class barriers from their fellow people. Kordan (1985), reflecting the role of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the Ukrainian community, explains why high socio-economic status achievers stayed as leaders of the ethnic community. In rejecting the assimilationist's idea, Kordan explains why the tie between ethnic elites and their community remains:

> It (Class) plays an important role in tying the ethnic social elite to the community. But the class factor appears to be dichotomous in nature. As the intelligentsia becomes entrenched and secure in its dominant class position and as class barriers become firm, the link between elite and community would seem to be threatened by the very element that helped originally structure it--class. Indeed, one would be inclined to think that there would have been considerable assimilation among the ethnic social elite as they began to identify with their class and as class barriers distanced them from their ethnic kindred. There were two reasons why this did not occur and both necessarily served to reconfirm for this social formation the belief that their future was inextricably linked to the

> community. . . . First, ... the introduction of racial ideology into society, its permeation through all social levels and its general acceptance made impossible inter-ethnic class co-operation, whether within the working class or between social elites. . . . Secondly, the opportunity to fully assimilate was denied those who wished to rid themselves of the ethnic stigma because they immediately threatened those in the dominant group who held elite and sub-elite positions. . . . In a society where assimilation was unavailable to an ethnic elite which was socially mobile and where ethnicity was simply unacceptable, the alternative was community mobilization. Only through collective action could they assure their own social position, satisfy the need for recognition, and alter, perhaps, the status of the group (1985: 30-31)

This analysis leads us to focus on ethnic community activities in the public sphere and collective ethnic identity after individual mobilization. Darroch points out the seemingly "contradictory" coexistence of ethnic assimilation and persistent ethnic communities in urban Canada, which supports Kordan's theoretical analysis. Darroch states:

> On the one hand, the best evidence available for urban immigrant populations quite clearly indicates that rapid intergenerational assimilation to English-language usage has taken place and is accompanied by the wide-spread loss of personal contact with ethnic networks and communities. On the other hand, there is striking visibility and apparent persistence of urban ethnic

> communities and institutions themselves, in terms of residential patterns, ethnic media, ethnic politics and ethnic cultural and academic activities (1981: 93).

Darroch explains the above "contradiction" by suggesting:

> ". . . the contradiction may be accounted for when it is considered to reflect two kinds (not only optional perspectives) of ethnic status processes operating simultaneously--those of individual assimilation at one level and those of ethnic organizational 'closure' at another" (1981: 97).

Regarding the ethnic social and political activities, Darroch suggests the positive influence of multiculturalism policy on them and the Weberian view of an ethnic group as an interest group, although he mentions likely intra-ethnic group conflicts over interests between ordinary and elite members (1981: 94, 98).

R. Breton distinguishes the material dimension of power and the symbolic dimension of power. The material order is that of classes and the symbolic order is that of status groups. According to Breton, "a consideration of material or utilitarian aspects, while essential, will lead to a misunderstanding of the actions and reactions of the various groups and organizations in these fields if the symbolic interests and forces involved are not given adequate weight" (1984: 123). The Japanese redress movement, for example, would be better understood as search for the symbolic interests rather than material. Yet, material interests are not confined to economic purpose only. As D. Juteau-Lee states:

> Although the distinction between material and symbolic resources is an interesting one, material resources should not be equated with economic ones; it follows that status politics also involve a competition over other

> types of material resources, namely political power. . . . ethnic diversity can best be understood by examining the relationship between ethnicity and politics (1984: 198, 199).

6. This Study

In this study ethnic identity of Japanese Canadians is examined in relation to their socio-economic status. Japanese Canadians are members of a small visible minority in multi-ethnic society Canada which holds a limited but prevailing egalitarian principle of individual meritocracy in the material order and cultural pluralism in the non-material order. Generally Japanese Canadians are mobile in the material sphere of society; Japanese Canadians are considered distant and low in the ethnic status ranking. Contrary to the assimilationist assumption it is presumed that individuals with a high socio-economic status would not necessarily lose their ethnic identity totally. They may retain or enhance some aspects of ethnic identity because these aspects are meaningful to the individuals in the present society. On the one hand, Japanese Canadians have been culturally assimilated to Canadian society for socio-economic achievement, but on the other hand, socio-economic achievement itself and the multiculturalism policy may have created ethnic consciousness and group action for further mobility and equality. Based on the general trend of ethnic identity in Canada and the contexts for Japanese Canadians, it is hypothesized that:

Among Japanese Canadians in the greater Edmonton area

1. Individuals with higher socio-economic status would have lower ethnic identity in maintenance of primary contacts and cultural maintenance than individuals with lower socio-economic status.

2. Individuals with higher socio-economic status would have higher ethnic identity in ethnic self identification and association and group rights than individuals with lower socio-economic status.

One study on Japanese Canadians in Edmonton provides a picture of Japanese Canadian identity in 1969. Macdonald examined "adaptation" of Japanese Canadians in 1969. Macdonald found a sample of Japanese Canadians "identify themselves primarily as Canadians and do not consider themselves as a separate group" (1970: iv-v). Regarding the Japanese community, Macdonald stated "The Japanese Community Club, which afforded social, psychological, and even economic support to the Issei during the early decades of their experiences in Canada, especially during and for a time after war years, seems no longer needed to fill these functions" (1970: v). And on the cultural assimilation of Nisei Macdonald compares them with Issei: "The difference between Issei and Nisei dispositions lies in the latter's trend towards individualism and spontaneity rather than familism and formality" (1970: v). In sum, Macdonald found an assimilationist pattern in her sample of Japanese Canadians and concluded: in Edmonton in 1970 Nisei identified themselves primarily as "Canadians", had a disposition of "individualism and spontaneity" just like other Canadians, and "the Japanese Community Club seemed no longer needed" for them.

Now twenty years later Sansei are about to reach the age of Nisei and Nisei the age of Issei in 1970. In spite of their cultural assimilation to Canada, Nisei and Sansei still pose differences in their ethnicity. Sansei are even more fully assimilated to the larger society than Nisei, despite which Sansei as Canadians seek an already lost sense of their Japaneseness, except for their physical features. How does one explain this phenomenon when Sansei show an interest in the Japanese culture, take lessons to learn the Japanese language, though the culture or language is not essential in their life, or when Sansei get actively involved in the redress movement though they are not the recipients of compensation?

This study is in some respects similar to Macdonald's earlier study, but it also differs in several respects. In 1970 Nisei were reported to identify themselves as "Canadians"; this study revisits this question. Second, this study examines the Japanese association which seemed unnecessary in 1970 but still existed in 1988. Who belonged to the association? What was the function of the association? Third, Macdonald examined the differences between Issei and Nisei; here the differences between Nisei and Sansei are examined instead. And finally instead of "adaptation", here ethnic identity after cultural assimilation to the larger society is the focus of study. There is little doubt about the cultural assimilation of Japanese Canadians.

Ethnic identity investigated in this study is to be seen in the context of respondents as Canadians. Immigrants from Japan develop their ethnic identity in a new land for the first time as most of them have been naturally Japanese back home. Immigrants and their children are made aware of their ethnicity because of their physical distinctiveness in Canada. Moreover, political issues such as multiculturalism and redress are relevant only to those who are conscious of their ethnicity and their rights as Canadian citizens. Palmer states: " . . . ethnic studies need not be concerned either with fostering or eliminating ethnic diversity: it can concern itself primarily with understanding Canadian social reality" (1977: 183). In this sense, studying ethnic identity of Japanese Canadians may help understand some aspects of Canadian society.

IV. METHODOLOGY

A. Research Design

The purpose of the study is first to explore and describe the nature of the ethnic identity of Japanese Canadians living in the Edmonton area. When the conceptualization of the study started several years ago, the Japanese community in the Edmonton area had a rather low profile. The major organization was the Japanese Community Association which managed to publish a community newsletter and to organize several festivities a year such as a picnic, Heritage Days activities and Christmas and New Year's Day celebrations for Japanese living in the Edmonton area. Japanese Canadians presented a variety of characteristics: some insisted they were Canadians and had few associations with the Japanese community; some showed an interest in Japan and were learning the language; and others preferred not to talk about their identity. Overall, the number of individuals involved in Japanese associations was relatively small.

According to the 1981 Census of Canada there were 1,150 Canadians of Japanese origin in the Edmonton area, but only about 150 names were available from the list of the Japanese Community Association, the largest Japanese association in Edmonton. Focusing on those people active in Japanese associations might have given some idea about the characteristics of Japanese Canadians but it is ultimately a limited approach because the majority of Japanese Canadians fall outside this circle of activites. In order to have a large enough number of respondents for statistical analysis and to provide as accurate a portrait as possible of Japanese Canadians this study attempts to describe Japanese Canadians both inside and outside the circle of the organized Japanese community.

A second purpose of the study is to examine ethnic identity among Japanese Canadians. Minority groups are often perceived by dominant groups as "they", that is, as

outsiders and as a homogeneous aggregate. This study questions whether Japanese Canadians are homogeneous in terms of their ethnic identity, and attempts to examine the relationship between differences in identity and socio-economic status and generation. As detailed in CHAPTER III, it is hypothesized that:

Among Japanese Canadians in the greater Edmonton area

1. Individuals with higher socio-economic status would have lower ethnic identity in maintenance of primary contacts and cultural maintenance than individuals with lower socio-economic status.

2. Individuals with higher socio-economic status would have higher ethnic identity in ethnic self identification and association and group rights than individuals with lower socio-economic status.

B. Sample

As there was no unified Japanese Canadian directory in Edmonton, it was necessary to construct a mailing list for the questionnaire. First, all the known Japanese organizations in Edmonton were contacted and their latest directories of members were acquired. All known Japanese associations were contacted including: The Edmonton Japanese Community Association, The Association of the Metro Edmonton Japanese Community School, Edmonton Japanese Curling Club, Edmonton Japanese Golf Club, Edmonton Japanese Allstars (baseball club), Edmonton Japanese Christian Church, Century Old Timers Club of Edmonton, Taiko (drum) Group, and Women's Arts & Craft Guild. Second, all possible Japanese sounding names were identified in the Edmonton and Vicinity 1988 Phone Book, the 1987-1988 University of Alberta Students Directory, and the University of Alberta Staff Directory. With the help of an editor of the Japanese Community Newsletter and others, a directory was constructed by combining all of the above information but excluding businesses, Non-Canadian Japanese visitors and non-

Japanese Canadians (who may be married to a Japanese or who may be a member of a Japanese association). Doubtful names that might be Japanese but also might not be were directly contacted by telephone to determine if they were Japanese. The final directory identified 465 households. In order to obtain a large enough number of responses all households were included in the survey.

C. Instrumentation and Data Collection

A questionnaire was designed to gather information about the respondent's demographic characteristics, past experiences and association activities as well as about the independent variable - socio-economic status - and the dependent variable - ethnic identity. Education level, occupation and income were included as indicators of socio-economic status. Information on four aspects of ethnic identity was sought.

The first aspect of ethnic identity examined the extent to which the individual's primary contacts were focused on other Japanese people. This included questions about whether their spouse, contacts and friends were Japanese or not and whether they would wish their children to marry someone who was Japanese.

Cultural maintenance and involvement composed the second aspect of ethnic identity. Included under the rubric of cultural maintenance were questions about language knowledge and use, interest and involvement in Japanese culture, ceremonies and culinary traditions.

Ethnic self identification was the third aspect of ethnic identity and examined the internal aspect of ethnic identity. Questions were asked about how the individuals defined and perceived themselves, whether their Japanese heritage was important to them, how they had reacted to prejudice or discrimination.

The fourth aspect of ethnic identity had its focus on association and group rights. Questions were asked about views of and involvement in Japanese associations, multiculturalism and redress.

A pre-test of the questionnaire included males and females and Issei, Nisei, Sansei and Yonsei of the pre-war immigrant group. Several modifications to the questions and categories of response were made as a consequence of this test.

When the revised questionnaires were sent out an identification number was written on the return envelope for the later telephone follow-up to encourage the return of the completed questionnaires. A new identification number was given to each of the returned questionnaires in order of receipt to maintain the annonymity of the answers.

Respondents were asked at the end of the questionnaire to provide names, addresses and telephone numbers of Japanese Canadians with non-Japanese family names if they knew any such individuals. Twenty-three new names were added to the directory in this way to bring the total member of households in the directory to 488.

To obtain responses from both sexes and from young adult children living with parents as well as adults two questionnaires were sent to each household. The cover letters specified whether a male or a female adult was to respond. There were four variations of the letter depending on the researcher's knowlege of respondents. The first variety of letter was directed to two specific individuals in the household when the researcher knew the composition of the household. When there were more than two children 16 years or older in a household known to the researcher, the name of the child respondent was selected by systematic sampling.

The second variety of cover letter was directed to one specific adult and asked that person to let one child sixteen years or older answer the other questionnaire when the researcher knew that there was only one adult appropriate to answer the questionnaire and it was not known whether there were children in the household. The third variant asked an adult female of the household to answer one questionnaire and the

fourth an adult male to do so. In each case, if an individual with the specified sex was not available in the household, an available individual regardless of sex was asked to answer the questionnaire. The third and fourth also asked one child sixteen years or older to answer the other questionnaire if possible. Forty-five of the first letter specifying two respondents by name were sent; 171 of the second letter specifying only one respondent by name were sent; and 249 of the third and fourth where preferable sex of the respondent was indicated were sent. The sex of the respondent specified in the cover letter was assigned randomly.

The self-administered questionnaire was sent out by mail to each address in the list in early May 1988 and was to be returned to the researcher in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. Although first responses arrived within a few days, the last did not arrive until late August 1988. Among those who returned the questionnaires, 44% responses were received by the second week and 75% by the fourth week. A total of 280 responded to the questionnaire. All questions were asked in English, although the open-ended question could be answered either in English or Japanese. In addition, several interviews were conducted for surviving elderly Issei who might have had difficulty in reading English.

D. Data Processing

The returned questionnaires were checked against the original identification number on the envelope and then given a new identification number according to the order of arrival. Two responses from one household were numbered so that they could be treated as separate individuals but with the same household income. Occasionally both spouses answered the questionnaires instead of one adult and one child 16 years or older as directed in the cover letter in which case their answers were included to maintain an adequate number for analysis. For the same reason and because revision made on the

pre-test was minor, the pre-test answers were also included in the data analysis. Since this is not an experimental design and the purpose of collecting data from as many Japanese Canadians in Edmonton as possible was desirable, it was not felt that this would seriously compromise the research design.

After the responses were coded and entered, the data were analyzed with SPSSX. First, frequency distributions were run for each item and recoding was undertaken. After this preliminary analysis, education rather than occupation or income, was employed as an indicator of socio-economic status. Among the respondents there were a significant number of young individuals: 29.6% were between the ages of sixteen and twenty-nine. Some of these young people were still students while others would not yet have attained their adult occupational status or income. Thus it was assumed that the status of such individuals in relation to ethnic identity was better measured by educational level than the current occupational status or income, which were likely to change at least for some of them. Second, cross-tabulations between education as the socio-economic variable and each component of ethnic identity were carried out to see the pattern of association, that is, the hypotheses were tested.

After the initial analysis described above, further analysis of data continued. Cross-tabulations among ethnic identity variables were carried out to develop new indices from related components of ethnic identity. As the elaboration model of analysis was employed, another variable besides education, generation, was employed both as an independent variable and as a control variable: generation is known to be an important factor in the studies on assimilation and identity and because it affects the educational level achieved (See, for example, Abu-Laban, 1980; Hansen, 1938; Weinfeld, 1981). The association between the ethnic identity indices and education was tested with and without holding generation constant and the association between ethnic identity indices and generation was tested with and without holding education constant. Finally, relationships among ethnic identity variables were tested with education or generation

as a controlling variable. As the variables and indices were ordinal in their characteristics, gamma was used as the measure of association for bivariate relationships.

E. Description of Respondents

The subjects were Canadian citizens or landed immigrants of Japanese descent who were sixteen years or older living in the greater Edmonton area when the survey was conducted in May 1988. Although every response was examined and coded, only responses from pre WWII immigrants and their descendants were analyzed for this study because they constituted the majority (72.9%) of the respondents and because issues such as exclusion and redress were more significant to them than to the post WWII immigrants and their descendants.

The general characteristics of pre WWII immigrants and their descendants were as follows. Responses were relatively well balanced between the genders There were 85 female respondents (41.9%) and 118 male respondents (58.1%).

Only 31.7% of the respondents had settled in Edmonton before 1965, while about half(46.0%) of respondents came to Edmonton between 1965 and 1979, and 22.3% came in 1980s. More specifically only 2% (4) were in Edmonton before WWII. The pattern of residence in Edmonton follows the historical account given in CHAPTER II. At the outbreak of the war all Japanese Canadians were excluded from coastal British Columbia and more that half were interned in British Columbia Interior Relocation Camps. During WWII, 27.0% of the respondents had themselves been excluded with their families, 62.7% of the respondents had not been personally excluded but their families had been, and 10.3% of the respondents had neither been excluded themselves nor had their families.

During and for a period of time after WWII, until the franchise was accorded in 1949, many respondents and/or their family members lost freedom of residential mobility. The following is either an own or a family experience (multiple answers possible): 1.0% (2) were unable to return from Japan; 23.5% were interned in the Hastings Park in Vancouver temporarily before further relocation; 39.2% lived in the relocation camps; 11.3% lived in the B. C. self-supporting sites; 10.3% were sent to the load camps; 3.9% (8) were sent to the prisoner-of-war camps; 27.9% sought employment in the east of the Rockies as an alternative to internment or exclusion to Japan; 51.0% became labourers on the sugar beet farms; and 2.9% (6) were sent to Japan just after the war.

Since one of the ways to leave relocation camps was to seek employment in the east of the Rockies, some of the respondents found their way to Alberta and other prairie provinces. In this way 9.4% of the respondents came to Edmonton prior to 1949 before Japanese Canadians were allowed to return to the coastal area of British Columbia. Other respondents were part of a large group of about 4,000 people who moved out of the camps and went to the prairie provinces to work as sugar-beet farm labourers. Still other respondents were part of a group of 4,200 who went farther east to Ontario and Quebec. As southern Alberta was one of the concentrated areas of sugar-beet farms, many Japanese Canadians settled there. After the war the Canadian government announced a dispersal policy for the Japanese Canadians as an alternative to moving to Japan, which brought a second migration to Alberta. In fact, Alberta was the province of origin of the majority (58.6%) of the respondents. Reflecting those of the older generation, 21.2% were from British Columbia. Of the remaining respondents, 8.9% originated in Ontario and 6.4% originated in either Manitoba, Saskatchewan or Quebec. Only 3.0% (6) were from Japan, including four Issei and two Nisei who went to Japan and lived there most of the time until age sixteen; and 2.0% (4) moved frequently and had multiple places of origin.

As this sample excludes post WWII Japanese immigrants to Canada, only 2.1% (4) were Issei or the immigrant generation. Even Nisei or the second generation constituted only 30.1% of the sample while Sansei (the third generation) and Yonsei (the fourth generation) together made up 67.9% of the respondents, which indicates that the sample was relatively a young one. Although the respondents ranged in age from 16 years to 94 years, 29.6% were between 16 years and 29 years, 25.6% were between 30 years and 39 years, 16.3% were between 40 years and 49 years, 14.3% were between 50 years and 59 years, and 14.3% were between 60 years and 94 years. Although the census data include both the native-born and immigrant population and the respondents in this study are native-born, a rough comparison with census data shows this sample to be fairly representative.

Table IV-1 compares the age distribution of the respondents to that of all Japanese in Canada over 15 years of age during the 1986 census.

Table IV-1: Comparison of age distribution between 1986 census national data on Canadians of Japanese origin and 1988 survey data on pre-World War II Japanese Canadians in Edmonton

age	census	survey
15-19	9.5%	4.9% *
20-24	10.3	13.8
25-34	19.3	25.6
35-44	20.6	19.2
45-54	15.0	13.8
55-64	14.0	14.3
65-74	7.7	6.4
75+	3.7	2.0
Number	41,505	204

SOURCE: The data were reconstructed from "Table 2. Characteristics of Selected Ethnic Groups, Showing Single and Multiple Origins by Sex, for Canada, 1986 Census - 20% Sample Data" in Dimensions: Profile of Ethnic Groups (Catalogue 93-154), Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1989, p. 2-97.

*Ages between 16 and 19 are represented in this category as the survey did not include the 15 year old as the census did.

As is evident, the survey over-represents the age categories 20 and 24 and 25 and 34 compared to the census data, whereas the youngest age group is under-represented. The under-representation in the youngest age group is at least partly the product of the exclusion of 15 year olds from the survey. Over-representation of individuals between the ages of 20 and 34 may also reflect their greater interest in responding to the questionnaire, that is, the questions were salient to them. During the telephone follow-up and later casual observation, those who refused to respond the questionnaire or even expressed anger toward the researcher were more likely to be older individuals (over 60 years) and Nisei. Lower response rates and under-representation of the two oldest groups may be indication of their greater suffering from the exclusion and from prejudice and discrimination and as a consequence a reluctance to reply. As one respondent said: "You actually opened old wounds."

Related to the youth of the sample, 33.8% were single-never married, while 58.4% had a spouse (56.4% married and 2% (4) common-law) and 7.9% were separated, divorced or widowed. Among the respondents 51.4% had children; of these 10.3% had one child, 19.6% had two children, and 21.6% had three or more children.

Besides the youth of the sample mentioned previously, the overall high educational level of the sample should be noted. Japanese-Canadians are the third best educated ethnic group in Canada, following the Jewish and the Chinese. According to the 1986 census, 18.8% of people of Japanese origin (19.6% of single Japanese origin) had a university degree compared with 43.6% of the survey sample (see Table IV-2).

This over-representation of highly educated individuals in the sample may be due to the use of university directories in developing the mailing list. Also, more educated individuals may have been more interested in the content of the questionnaire and may have been more inclined to respond to it. It should also be noted that the educational level of Canadians has risen every census year and that the median educational level of the population in Edmonton is higher than that of the national population. Finally, as

Kobayashi shows, fully 31.5% of Japanese Canadians in Alberta between the ages of 25 and 34 have University degrees (1989: 81). Further, the proportion of university educated individuals is even higher in urban areas. Since the 25-34 age group is over-represented in the survey, they would increase the proportion of those in the survey with this level of education.

Table IV-2: Comparison of distribution of educational level between 1986 census national data on Canadians of Japanese origin and 1988 survey data on pre-World War II Japanese Canadians in Edmonton

	census*			survey
education	single origin (Japanese)	multiple origin (Japanese&other)	total	
less than university degree	80.4%	86.5%	81.2%	56.4%
university degree or more	19.6%	13.5%	18.8%	43.6%
Total number	36,160	5,350	41,510	204

SOURCE: *The data were reconstructed from "Table 2. Characteristics of Selected Ethnic Groups, Showing Single and Multiple Origins by Sex, for Canada, 1986 Census - 20% Sample Data" in Dimensions: Profile of Ethnic Groups (Catalogue 93-154), Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1989, p. 2-99.

In occupational terms, 13.4% were students. Using Blishen's socio-economic index for occupations, 30.8% of the respondents held upper rank occupations, 35.8% middle rank and 19.9% lower rank. Comparatively, their fathers had relatively lower occupations which consisted of 11.6% upper rank, 31.7% middle rank and 56.8% lower rank. However, this simple comparison of occupational ranking between two different times might not be accurate because such rankings change over time. Among 163 households from which information on annual household income was available, 20.9%

had an income under $30,000, 49.1% had an income between $30,000 and $59,999, and 30.1% had an income of $60,000 or more.

Regarding religious affiliation, 46.0% were Christians, 22.0% were Buddhists, and 32.0% had no preference. The 1981 census data on ethnic origin and religion showed a similar pattern: 45.6% were Christians, 25.2% were Buddhists, 27.9% had no preference, and 1.3% had a religious affiliation of other than Christianity or Buddhism.

In this chapter, first, research methods employed in the study were described: what the purpose of the study was; what the variables were; how the variables were measured; who the subjects were; how the data were collected and analyzed. Second, some background characteristics of the subjects were described. In the next chapter analysis and interpretation of the data are presented.

V. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

The analysis in this chapter focuses on the examination of ethnic identity. In the first part, the hypotheses will be tested for the relationship between components of ethnic identity and educational level. In the second part, ethnic identity indices will be developed from some of the components of ethnic identity. Then, in the third part, along with bivariate analysis, elaboration of the relationship between ethnic identity indices and each of educational level and generation will be conducted. Finally relationships among ethnic identity indices will be examined to see the overall pattern of ethnic identity; the relationships will also be elaborated with control variables - educational level and generation - and patterns of ethnic identity within control categories will be analyzed.

A. Components of Ethnic Identity

1. Maintenance of Primary Contacts

For the variables in the category of primary contacts maintenance it was hypothesized that individuals with higher socio-economic status would have lower ethnic identity than individuals with lower socio-economic status.

The maintenance of primary contacts pertains to the extent to which the respondents' primary contacts are focused on other Japanese people. This included questions about whether their spouse, contacts and friends were Japanese and whether they would wish their children to marry someone who was Japanese.

The first element of primary contacts concerns whether the respondent's spouse is Japanese. A high intermarriage rate is evident among respondents: of the 58.3% of the sample who were married 63.4% were married to non-Japanese. Intermarriage is greatest among the more educated. Table V-1 shows that while 76.2% of those with high

education have non-Japanese spouses, 51.5% of those with low education do so. In sum, there is a negative relationship (gamma=-0.50) between educational level and whether the spouse is Japanese or not.

Table V-1: Relationship between education and endogamy: "Is/Was your married or common-law partner Japanese?"

spouse Japanese	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
no	(35)51.5%	(48)76.2%	(83)63.4%
yes	(33)48.5	(15)23.8	(48)36.6
	(68)51.9%	(63)48.1%	(131)100%

gamma=-0.50

missing cases=73
total n=204

Table V-2: Relationship between education and attitude toward marriage of child: "Would you wish (Have you wished) your child to marry a person of Japanese descent?"

wish child marry Japanese	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
does not matter	(73)83.0%	(63)90.0%	(136)86.1%
not sure	(1)1.1	(2)2.9	(3)1.9
yes	(14)15.9	(5)7.1	(19)12.0
	(88)55.7%	(70)44.3%	(158)100%

gamma=-0.31

missing cases=46
total n=204

As might be expected from the pattern of choice of the spouse, on preferences for a child's spouse, the overwhelming majority (86.1%) answered that it would not matter whether their child married a person of Japanese descent. Only 12.0% preferred that

their child marry someone Japanese, while the remainder 1.9% (3) were ambivalent. A negative relationship (gamma=-0.31) is evident, therefore, between educational level and preference of ethnicity of a child's spouse. Table V-2 shows that only 7.1% of individuals with high education would wish their child to marry someone Japanese compared to 15.9% of individuals with low education.

The level of Japanese contacts was measured by summing how often and on what occasions a respondent met "people of Japanese descent in Edmonton." The five occasions or kinds of association were - relatives, friends, for children's activities, at club/association events, and at work; and the frequencies of meeting were - once a week or more, once a month or more, and less than once a month. Thus, the scores ranged from a maximum of 15, which indicates meeting Japanese people on all the given occasions once a week or more, to a minimum of 0, which indicates no contacts with other Japanese. Of the respondents, 39.7% had a low level of contact (scores 0 to 3) and 60.3% had a high level of contact (scores 4 to 15). An unexpected weak but positive relationship (gamma=0.22) is obtained between educational level and maintenance of Japanese contacts (see Table V-3). Of the respondents 66.3% with high education have a high level of Japanese contacts while 55.7% with low education have a high level of Japanese contacts (score 4 or higher in terms of occasions and frequency).

Table V-3: Relationship between education and Japanese contacts

Japanese contacts	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
low (0 to 3)	(51)44.3%	(30)33.7%	(81)39.7%
high (4 to 15)	(64)55.7	(59)66.3	(123)60.3%
	(115)56.4%	(89)43.6%	(204)100%

gamma=0.22

missing cases=0
total n=204

The final aspect of the maintenance of primary contacts concerned friendships. Respondents were asked the following question: "Please think of the three closest friends whom you see most often or feel closest to. Is any one of them of Japanese descent?" The majority (62.1%) did not identify their closest friends as being Japanese.

Table V-4: Relationship between education and friendship: "Please think of the three closest friends whom you see most often or feel closest to. Is any one of them of Japanese descent?"

friend Japanese	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
no	(65)57.0%	(61)68.5%	(126)62.1%
yes	(49)43.0	(28)31.5	(77)37.9
	(114)56.2%	(89)43.8%	(203)100%

gamma=-0.24

missing cases=1
total n=204

As Table V-4 shows, only 31.5% of the respondents with high education have close friends who are Japanese, while 43.0% of those with low education have close friends who are Japanese. In sum, a weak negative relationship (gamma=-0.24) exists between educational level and strength of Japanese ethnic identity in terms of friendship maintenance.

Overall, a relatively low level of Japanese ethnic identity is indicated with respect to all the four items in primary contacts maintenance. The level of primary contacts is higher among individuals with low education except for the item Japanese contacts; in this case the level is higher among those with high education than among those with low education.

2. Cultural Maintenance

For the variables in the category of cultural maintenance it was hypothesized that individuals with higher socio-economic status would have lower ethnic identity than individuals with lower socio-economic status.

Cultural maintenance, a second category of ethnic identity included six questions about interest and involvement in Japanese culture, language knowledge and use, and culinary traditions and ceremonies.

Most respondents (62.6%) indicated they had "some interest' in aspects of Japanese culture such as arts, language and sports, while 29.8% were "very much interested" and 7.6% were "not particularly interested" in the Japanese culture. As Table V-5 shows, individuals with higher education have a greater interest in Japanese culture than those with less education. Thus, contrary to the hypothesis, a weak but positive relationship (gamma=0.17) exists between educational level and interest in Japanese culture.

Table V-5: Relationship between education and interest in Japanese culture: "Are you interested in aspects of the Japanese culture such as arts, language and sports?"

Japanese culture interest	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
no interest	(9)8.0%	(6)7.0%	(15)7.6%
some interest	(74)66.1	(50)58.1	(124)62.6
much interest	(29)25.9	(30)34.9	(59)29.8
	(112)56.6%	(86)43.4%	(198)100%

gamma=0.17

missing cases=6
total n=204

A second element of cultural maintenance involved two specific kinds of behaviour - Japanese cultural involvement as an adult and as a parent. Summated scales

were created for each behaviour. Strength of Japanese ethnic identity in Japanese cultural maintenance was measured according to the kinds of cultural activities and degrees of commitment to them. The Japanese language is one of the major components of the Japanese culture. One may say learning a language is learning to understand the culture where the language is spoken. An analysis indicates that those adults who took Japanese language lessons did so because they could not speak Japanese. Taking foreign language lessons as an adult or enrolling the child in foreign language lessons requires motivation and commitment. Although the same can be said of arts or sports lessons, the emphasis in that case may be more on interest in the arts or sports themselves rather than the arts or sports as aspects of ethnic culture. For example, some Japanese arts and sports such as Bonsai and Karate have been popular among non-Japanese. While attendance at exhibitions indicates an interest in Japanese culture, this only requires rather passive involvement compared to the act of taking lessons. Thus, it was assumed that taking Japanese language lessons indicates stronger Japanese ethnic identity than taking lessons in Japanese arts or sports, and taking lessons in arts or sports indicates stronger Japanese ethnic identity than attending Japanese films, performances, exhibitions etc. Following this reasoning, first, weighted scores were assigned to the cultural activities. These activities were ranked from 0 for no involvement through 5 for taking Japanese language lessons. Second, the respondent's scores for each cultural activity were summed to provide an indicator of Japanese cultural involvement as an adult and as a parent. Thus, each respondent received a summated score from 0 to 9 for Japanese cultural involvement as an adult, depending on the combination of activities. Similarly, a respondent received a summated score from 0 to 8 for Japanese cultural involvement as a parent.

For Japanese cultural involvement as an adult, the lowest level of involvement, "no involvement", was found among 38.7% of the respondents. The second lowest level of involvement was found among those 21.6% who replied "I attended Japanese films,

performances, exhibitions etc." but did not participate in any Japanese arts, sports or language lessons. The next level of involvement was found among those 12.7% who at least took lessons in Japanese arts and/or sports and may have also attended "Japanese films, performances, exhibitions etc.", but did not take take language lessons. And the highest level of involvement was found among those 27.0% who at least took language lessons and may have also taken part in the other activities stated previously.

Table V-6: Relationship between education and involvement in Japanese culture as an adult: "What is/was your involvement in Japanese arts, language, sports etc.?"

Japanese culture involvement as an adult	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
no involvement	(50)43.5%	(29)32.6%	(79)38.7%
exhibition	(27)23.5	(17)19.1	(44)21.6
arts/sports & more	(14)12.2	(12)13.5	(26)12.7
language & more	(24)20.9	(31)34.8	(55)27.0
	(115)56.4%	(89)43.6%	(204)100%

gamma=0.24

missing cases=0
total n=204

A higher proportion of individuals with high education show a high level of involvement in Japanese culture than those with less education. As indicated by this interest in Japanese culture, a weak but positive relationship (gamma=0.24) is unexpectedly found between educational level and strength of Japanese ethnic identity in cultural involvement as an adult.

Japanese cultural involvement as a parent was also measured using a summated scale. Among individuals who had children, 79.0% did not enroll their children in any Japanese arts, sports or language lessons; only 10.5% enrolled their children in Japanese arts and/or sports but not in the Japanese language; and another 10.5%

enrolled their children in the Japanese language and also may have had enrolled them in Japanese arts and/or sports. Among the respondents, 35.5% of those with high education have a child involved in lessons in Japanese culture, while only 8.8% of those with low education have a child involved in lessons in Japanese culture. Contrary to the hypothesis, a strong positive relationship (gamma=0.68) is evident between educational level and strength of Japanese ethnic identity in cultural involvement as a parent.

Table V-7: Relationship between education and involvement in Japanese culture as a parent: "What is/was your involvement in Japanese arts, language, sports etc.?"

Japanese culture involvement as a parent	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
no involvement	(52)91.2%	(31)64.6%	(83)79.0%
arts/sports	(3)5.3	(8)16.7	(11)10.5
language & more	(2)3.5	(9)18.8	(11)10.5
	(57)54.3%	(48)45.7%	(105)100%

gamma=0.68

missing cases=0
total n=105

In contrast to the interest in Japanese culture indicated by 92.4% of the respondents, the actual involvement of adults in such activities as language lessons is low (27.0%) and the involvement of their children in language lessons is even lower (10.5%).

Another related but different aspect of cultural maintenance is actual knowledge and use of the Japanese language. Among the respondents 40.3% could speak Japanese. This includes 8.0% who could speak "a little". The remainder (59.7%) were unable to speak Japanese. As Table V-8 shows, only 20.7% of those with high education can speak Japanese while 41.2% with low education can do so. The relationship between

educational level and strength of Japanese ethnic identity in the ability to speak Japanese is weak and negative (gamma=-0.23).

Table V-8: Relationship between education and Japanese language competence: "Can you speak Japanese?"

can speak Japanese	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
no	(65)57.0%	(55)63.2%	(120)59.7%
a little	(2)1.8	(14)16.1	(16)8.0%
yes	(47)41.2	(18)20.7	(65)32.3
	(114)56.7%	(87)43.3%	(201)100%

gamma=-0.23

missing cases=3
total n=204

A summated index was created to measure use of the language by considering with whom and how often individuals spoke Japanese. Seven categories of communication were considered: grandparents, parents, siblings, spouses, friends, children and grandchildren. For each category of communication, there were three frequencies of language use. The highest score of 3 was given to those who spoke Japanese everyday, a score of 2 was given to those who spoke Japanese once a week or more, a score of 1 was given to those who spoke Japanese less than once a week, and those who did not speak Japanese received a score of 0. Thus, the possible score range was from a maximum of 21, which meant talking to all the categories of people everyday, to a minimum of 0. In fact, the scores ranged from 15 to 0. Including both those 120 respondents who cannot speak Japanese and those who can but don't, 65.7% of the respondents did not speak Japanese at all, while 23.0% had low scores (1 to 3) and 11.3% had high scores (4 to 15). Only 4.5% of those with high education maintain a high degree of the Japanese language use, while 16.5% with low education do so. A weak negative relationship

(gamma=-0.24) is evident between educational level and the strength of Japanese ethnic identity in the degree of the Japanese language use.

Table V-9: Relationship between education and frequency of the use of Japanese

speak Japanese	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
no (0)	(71)61.7%	(63)70.8%	(134)65.7%
low (1 to 3)	(25)21.7	(22)24.7	(47)23.0%
high (4 to 15)	(19)16.5	(4)4.5	(23)11.3
	(115)56.4%	(89)43.6%	(204)100%

gamma=-0.24

missing cases=0
total n=204

Table V-10: Relationship between education and culinary tradition: "How often do you eat Japanese foods at home?"

Japanese foods	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
seldom	(12)10.5%	(10)11.4%	(22)10.9%
a few times/year	(13)11.4	(13)14.8	(26)12.9%
once/month or more	(29)25.4	(20)22.7	(49)24.3%
once/week or more	(60)52.6	(45)51.1	(105)52.0
	(114)56.4%	(88)43.6%	(202)100%

gamma=-0.05

missing cases=2
total n=204

In comparison with language, Japanese culinary traditions were well maintained. As many as 52.0% of the respondents ate Japanese foods at home "once a week or more", 24.3% ate "once a month or more", 12.9% ate "a few times a year", and 10.9% "seldom" ate Japanese foods at home. Table V-10 shows that lower proportion of

individuals with high education have a high level of consumption of Japanese foods than those with low education. Thus, there is a very weak negative relationship (gamma=-0.05) between educational level and maintenance of Japanese culinary traditions.

Ceremonial aspects of Japanese culture were not maintained as well as culinary aspects. The majority of respondents (65%) did not observe any Japanese ceremonies, festivals or holidays, 29.9% did so once or twice a year", and only 5.1% did so on a number of occasions during the year. This is likely to be related to factors such as geographical dispersion, urbanization, and intermarriage of Japanese Canadians.

Table V-11: Relationship between education and ceremonial tradition: "Do you observe any Japanese ceremonies, festivals or holidays?"

Japanese ceremonies	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
no	(68)62.4%	(60)68.2%	(128)65.0%
once or twice/year	(33)30.3	(26)29.5	(59)29.9
a number/year	(8)7.3	(2)2.3	(10)5.1
	(109)55.3%	(88)44.7%	(197)100%

gamma=-0.15

missing cases=7
total n=204

As Table V-11 shows, 31.8% of individuals with high education compared to slightly higher 37.6% of individuals with low education maintain some Japanese ceremonies at least once a year. Thus, a weak negative relationship (gamma=-0.15) is found between educational level and strength of Japanese ethnic identity in maintenance of ceremonies.

Religious affiliation was not included in the analysis as an indicator of Japanese ethnic identity first, because there was a problem in defining the existing Edmonton Japanese Christian Church as a Japanese religious organization or as an indicator of assimilation to Christianity; second, because religion generally plays a much smaller

part than other aspects of Japanese culture such as language, arts or foods in defining Japanese ethnicity, i.e. Christian Japanese Canadians are in a way as ethnic Japanese as Buddhist Japanese Canadians; and third, membership in some Buddhist churches may indicate Japanese ethnicity while membership in others may represent assimilation with others of Buddist background (Sugunasiri, 1989: 92-93). It should be noted here, however, that one Buddhist priest suggested to the researcher that Buddhists had been oppressed and forced to become Christians in Canada, which may have affected the religious preference. Only 22.0% of respondents were Buddhists, compared to 32.0% who had no preference/affiliation and 46.0% who were Christians.

Items in the category of cultural maintenance showed various levels of ethnic identity - from the nearly extinct spoken language skill to the well maintained culinary tradition. They were also divided in terms of their relationship to education: most relate negatively to education but items such as interest and involvement in Japanese culture relate positively to education.

3. Ethnic Self Identification

Ethnic self identification, a third aspect of ethnic identity, pertains to the internal aspect of ethnic identity. Questions were asked about how the individuals defined and perceived themselves, whether their Japanese heritage was important to them, and how they had reacted to prejudice or discrimination.

For the variables in the category of ethnic self identification it was hypothesized that individuals with higher socio-economic status would have higher ethnic identity than individuals with lower socio-economic status.

The first question asked "Which of the following best describes how you define your ethnicity?" The most popular answer was "I am a Japanese-Canadian", which 50.7% of the respondents chose. Another 25.1% of the respondents chose "a Canadian-Japanese" and 20.7% chose "a Canadian". Only 2.5% (5) defined themselves as "a

Japanese". A score was assigned to each label according to the semantic weight of Japaneseness in it, which also roughly represents the historical change in describing people of Japanese descent in Canada. Earlier the immigrant generation was called the Japanese and not considered as Canadians. In 1948 F. E. La Violette used the term "Canadian Japanese" meaning Japanese in Canada. Meanwhile, Japanese-Canadians generally meant Canadians of Japanese ancestry; Canadians emphasized full Canadian citizenship or lack of tie with Japan and its culture. The respondents who selected the label "Canadian" received the score of 1; those who selected "Japanese-Canadian" received the score of 2; those who selected "Canadian-Japanese" received the score of 3; and those who selected "Japanese" received the score of 4. Table V-12 shows that there is little correlation (gamma=0.04) between educational level and labelling of self identity. Further analysis focusing on the variable may bring out another way of scaling the labels, which is not included in this study, because re-scaling of the label then would not be supported with the strength of ethnic identity found in each label but may be supported with other reasons such as common use, the sound of the word etc.

Table V-12: Relationship between education and self identity labelling: "Which of the following best describes how you define your ethnicity?"

self identity	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
Canadian	(21)18.4%	(21)24.1%	(42)20.9%
Japanese-Canadian	(64)56.1	(39)44.8	(103)51.2
Canadian-Japanese	(26)22.8	(25)28.7	(51)25.4
Japanese	(3)2.6	(2)2.3	(5)2.5
	(114)56.7%	(87)43.3%	(201)100%

gamma=0.04

missing cases=3
total n=204

A second element of ethnic self identification concerned the salience of Japanese ethnic identity. The respondents were asked how much they agree or disagree with the statement "My Japanese heritage is important to me." The initial five point scale was summarized into three and the result was: their Japanese heritage was not important to 8.5% of the respondents; 30.8% were uncertain; and the largest group 60.7% agreed that their Japanese heritage was important to them. Table V-13 shows that while 71.9% of those with high education agree to the importance of their Japanese heritage, 51.8% of those with low education do so. It is also noted that compared to 20.2% of those with high education, 39.3% of those with low education are uncertain about the importance of their Japanese heritage. In sum, a moderate positive relationship (gamma=0.35) is found between educational level and salience of Japanese ethnic identity.

Table V-13: Relationship between education and salience of ethnic identity : "My Japanese heritage is important to me."

ethnic identity salience	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
disagree	(10)8.9%	(7)7.9%	(17)8.5%
uncertain	(44)39.3	(18)20.2	(62)30.8
agree	(58)51.8	(64)71.9	(122)60.7
	(112)55.7%	(89)44.3%	(201)100%

gamma=0.35

missing cases=3
total n=204

A third element of ethnic self identification concerned respondents' perception of acceptance by others. The question asked "In everyday contacts with non-Japanese which of the following best describes how you usually feel?" The choice of four responses ranged from a positive "I am welcomed . . . " to a negative "Others are sometimes hostile

to me . . ." The great majority (91.9%), however, chose the second positive answer: "I am accepted: being Japanese does not affect the way others treat me." This is one question that did not have variance, therefore, it was not used for bivariate analysis with other variables.

Table V-14: Relationship between education and reaction to discrimination: "Which of the following best describes how you felt as a consequence of prejudice or discrimination?"

reaction to discrimination	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
inward	(44)56.4%	(29)48.3%	(73)52.9%
outward	(34)43.6	(31)51.7	(65)47.1
	(78)56.5%	(60)43.5%	(138)100%

gamma=0.16

missing cases=66
total n=204

The last question on ethnic self identification concerned reaction to discrimination. The respondents who replied in the previous question that they had experienced some forms of discrimination as a consequence of being Japanese were asked about their reaction to discrimination. A scale was constructed from the response. Each of the four answers was given a score that reflected its direction and intensity. Those 7.9% who selected "I wished I were not Japanese" received the score of -2; the 30.9% who selected "I felt that I just had to endure because there was not much I could do" received the score of -1; the 29.4% who selected "I felt angry toward the people who discriminated against me" received the score of 1; and the 9.8% who selected "I felt like defending my heritage" received the score of 2. Among the four replies that were provided the first two replies "I wished I were not Japanese" and "I felt that I just had to endure because there was not much I could do" were grouped together as the "inward"

reactions. On the other hand, the second two replies "I felt angry toward the people who discriminated against me" and "I felt like defending my heritage" were grouped together as the "outward" reactions. Among the respondents 52.9% showed the inward reactions, while 47.1% showed the outward reactions. Table V-14 shows that among individuals who felt they were discriminated against because they were Japanese, 51.7% of those with high education have outward reaction against discrimination while 43.6% of those with low education do. In sum, the relationship between educational level and reaction to discrimination is weak and positive (gamma=0.16).

Except for the question on the sense of distinctiveness which shows little variance in the replies, the items in the category of ethnic self identification has a range of replies. Two items, salience of ethnic identity and reaction to discrimination show positive relationships to education, while labelling of self identity shows little correlation with education.

4. Association and Group Rights

The fourth aspect of ethnic identity had its focus on association and group rights. Questions were asked about views of and involvement in Japanese associations, multiculturalism and redress. Eight questions concerning the attitudes and behaviours toward Japanese associations, multiculturalism and redress were asked in the category of association and group rights.

For the variables in the category of association and group rights it was hypothesized that individuals with higher socio-economic status have higher ethnic identity than individuals with lower socio-economic status.

An index was created to measure the level of participation in "Japanese associations, organizations, clubs, schools, churches etc." The respondents were asked to specify the name of each association that they belonged to and to select the level of involvement from the following; organizer, executive member (the score 4), teacher,

regularly active member (the score 3), occasional volunteer helper (the score 2), and general member, subscriber (the score 1). A summated index was created according to the number of associations and the level of involvement for each association. Basically four kinds of associations based in Edmonton were identified--the Japanese association, the Japanese language school, the Japanese Christian church, and Japanese arts and sports clubs; and others based in outside of Edmonton were also found in the responses. Each association was given equal weight and the same scale of scores from 1 to 4 was employed as the level of involvement. The total score was counted as the sum of scores given to each of the Japanese associations the respondent belonged to. The score ranged from a minimum of 0 to a maximum of 9. The overall result was the low level of Japanese association participation. More than half (54.9%) of the respondents were non-members, 24.0% had the score of one, i.e. a general member or subscriber of one association, and 21.1% had higher scores (2 to 9).

Table V-15: Relationship between education and frequency and degree of involvement with Japanese associations

Japanese associations	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
non member	(66)57.4%	(46)51.7%	(112)54.9%
1	(27)23.5	(22)24.7	(49)24.0
2 to 9	(22)19.1	(21)23.6	(43)21.1
	(115)56.4%	(89)43.6%	(204)100%

gamma=0.11

missing cases=0
total n=204

As Table V-15 shows, a higher proportion of individuals with high education are active in Japanese associations than those with low education. Thus, a weak positive

relationship (gamma=0.11) is found between educational level and Japanese association participation.

The reason for the involvement with Japanese associations were as follows. Among those who were involved, 34.1% were involved with Japanese associations "because they provide friendship and support", 40.2% were involved "because they help me maintain my Japanese culture and heritage", as few as 7.3% (6) were involved "because they support my rights as a Canadian citizen", and 18.3% selected "other" as the reason. The majority (74.4%) of those who involved themselves with Japanese associations did so for maintenance of friendship and culture, not for rights.

Table V-16: Relationship between education and the reason why "I am involved with Japanese associations . . . "

why Japanese association	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
for friendship	(16)47.1%	(12)36.4%	(28)41.8%
to maintain culture	(16)47.1	(17)51.5	(33)49.3
for rights	(2)5.9	(4)12.1	(6)9.0
	(34)50.7%	(33)49.3%	(67)100%

gamma=0.23

missing cases=137
total n=204

Table V-16 shows that 12.1% of those with high education are involved with Japanese associations for their rights while only 5.9% of those with low education do. Among those with high education 36.4% are involved with Japanese associations for friendship and support compared with 47.1% of those with low education. Individuals from both high education and low education have similar representations in the maintenance of Japanese culture as the reason for involvement with Japanese associations. In sum,

there is a weak positive relationship (gamma=0.23) between educational level and the reason for involvement with Japanese associations.

The reason for non-involvement was asked of those who were not involved with any Japanese associations. Among those who were not involved, 3.3%(4) were not involved "because I do not think Japanese people should stick together", 19.5% were not involved "because I am not interested in activities and events in the associations", the largest group (44.7%) were not involved "because I am too busy with work and other activities", two respondents (1.6%) were not involved "because I do not like decisions and directions of the associations", and 30.9% selected "other " as the reason. A lack of significance for involvement is indicated by the fact that the majority (64.2%) cited as their reason for not belonging that "I am not interested" and "I am too busy".

Table V-17: Relationship between education and the reason why "I am not involved with Japanese associations . . . "

why not Japanese association	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
because:			
should not stick together	(4)8.3%	(0)0%	(4)4.7%
not interested	(12)25.0	(12)32.4	(24)28.2
too busy	(32)66.7	(23)62.2	(55)64.7
not like decision	(0)0	(2)5.4	(2)2.4
	(48)56.5%	(37)43.5%	(85)100%

gamma=0.14

missing cases=119
total n=204

Table V-17 shows that 8.3% of those with low education cite "because Japanese people should not stick together" as a reason for non-involvement in Japanese associations but that there is no one with high education who does so. On the other hand, 5.4% of those with high education select the reason "because I do not like the decisions and directions of

the associations" while no one with low education does. Overall, there is a weak positive relationship (gamma=0.14) between educational level and the reason for not being involved with Japanese associations.

The next question asked the respondents' view of multiculturalism: "Which of the following best describes what multiculturalism means to you?" Those who answered "I know little about multiculturalism" constitute 14.8%, while those who selected either "cultural maintenance and sharing" or "restoring the pride of minority groups" are 38.8%, and 46.4% see multiculturalism as "assurance of equal rights for all Canadians and protection against prejudice and discrimination."

Table V-18: Relationship between education and view of multiculturalism: "Which of the following best describes what multiculturalism means to you?"

multiculturalism view	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
know little	(20)18.5%	(9)10.2%	(29)14.8%
cultural maintenance & minority pride	(28)25.9	(48)54.5	(76)38.8
equal rights	(60)55.6	(31)35.2	(91)46.4
	(108)55.1%	(88)44.9%	(196)100%

gamma=-0.20

missing cases=8
total n=204

As Table V-18 shows, 54.5% of those with high education, compared to 25.9% of those with low education, view multiculturalism as a vehicle for cultural maintenance and minority pride, while 35.2% of those with high education compared to 55.6% of those with low education view multiculturalism as instrumental for equal rights for all Canadians. Contrary to the hypothesis, a weak but negative relationship (gamma=-

0.20) is found between educational level and strength of Japanese ethnic identity in the view of multiculturalism.

In contrast to their knowledge about multiculturalism, respondents revealed a pattern of non-involvement. Only two respondents (1.2%) show disapproval of the policy by answering "I am against the multiculturalism policy and have no involvement with it", but the great majority of the respondents (92.1%) support the policy but have little involvement with it (See Table V-19). There are only 11 respondents (6.7%) who claim involvement with the multiculturalism policy and activities.

Table V-19: Relationship between education and involvement with multiculturalism: "What is your involvement with multiculturalism?"

multiculturalism involvement	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
against & not involved	(1)1.2%	(1)1.3%	(2)1.2%
support but little involvement	(79)92.9	(72)91.1	(151)92.1
involved	(5)5.9	(6)7.6	(11)6.7
	(85)51.8%	(79)48.2%	(164)100%

gamma=0.11

missing cases=40
total n=204

As Table V-19 shows, a weak positive relationship (gamma=0.11) is found between educational level and level of involvement in multiculturalism.

The final indicators of Japanese ethnic identity in terms of association and group rights concerned redress. To the question "Which of the following best describes what redress means to you?" diverse views were found: 31.8% selected either "I know little about the redress issue" or "an unnecessary opening of old wounds", 22.1% selected either "an opportunity to fight racism in Canada" or "an affirmation of our pride as

Japanese Canadians", and 46.2% selected "a recognition of my natural rights as a Canadian."

Table V-20: Relationship between education and view of redress: "Which of the following best describes what redress means to you?"

redress view	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
know little, unnecessary	(39)36.4%	(23)26.1%	(62)31.8%
fight racism, Japanese pride	(21)19.6	(22)25.0	(43)22.1
natural rights	(47)43.9	(43)48.9	(90)46.2
	(107)54.9%	(88)45.1%	(195)100%

gamma=0.14

missing cases=9
total n=204

Table V-20 shows that a larger proportion of those with high education than those with low education regard redress as a recognition of their natural rights, and an affirmation of their pride as Japanese Canadians or an opportunity to fight racism. A smaller portion of those with high education compared to those with low education know little about redress or regard redress as unnecessary. In sum, a weak positive relationship (gamma=0.14) is found between educational level and the view of redress.

Despite the knowledge and a seemingly approving view of redress by the majority (68.3%), an overall low level of redress involvement is evident. Among those who knew of the redress issue, 64.1% supported redress but had little involvement in the movement. A surprising number were either neutral or negative in their responses to redress - 11.4% had no strong feelings about redress one way or the other and 15.0% were against redress. This latter group felt that "We should just forget." As a result only 9.6% had some involvement in redress issues either by attending meetings and talking to others or by more active involvement.

Table V-21: Relationship between education and involvement in redress: "What is your involvement in redress?"

redress involvement	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
against	(12)14.1%	(13)15.9%	(25)15.0%
no strong feeling	(13)15.3	(6)7.3	(19)11.4
support but little involvement	(54)63.5	(53)64.6	(107)64.1
at least talked to others	(6)7.1	(10)12.2	(16)9.6
	(85)50.9%	(82)49.1%	(167)100%

gamma=0.15

missing cases=37
total n=204

Two points should be noted about the relationship between educational level and redress involvement. First, the more educated show slightly greater (15.9%) antipathy than the less educated (14.1%) but among those with high education only 7.3% report no interest in redress compared to 15.3% of those with low education. Second, more active support for redress represented by the responses "I have talked to others" (about redress) and "I am deeply involved in seeking redress" is more often expressed by those with high education (12.2%) than those with low education (7.1%). Accordingly, a weak positive relationship (gamma=0.15) is found between educational level and redress involvement.

Respondents with knowledge about redress were also asked to select the most important component of redress for them. Of those who replied, 53.2% regarded the non-monetary component of redress most important and 46.8% regarded the monetary component of redress most important. As Table V-22 shows, little correlation (gamma=-0.03) is evident between education and whether the most important component of redress is monetary or non-monetary.

Table V-22: Relationship between education and the most important component of redress: "Which is the most important component of redress for you?"

redress component	education level		
	up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
non-monetary	(42)52.5%	(42)53.8%	(84)53.2%
monetary	(38)47.5	(36)46.2	(74)46.8
	(80)50.6%	(78)49.4%	(158)100%

gamma=-0.03

missing cases=46
total n=204

In spite of their knowledge about multiculturalism and redress and accordingly an awareness of their rights, a pattern of non-involvement prevailed among the respondents. Respondents with high education are, however, generally more aware of their rights and more actively involved in Japanese associations than those with low education. Exceptions to this rule are the absence of an association between education and the most important component of redress - whether monetary or non-monetary - and a negative association between education and the perception of multiculturalism as an assurance of equal rights.

B. Construction of Ethnic Identity Indices

In order to summarize and simplify the patterns of relationship between individual ethnic identity items, indices were constructed. Following Babbie the first criterion for choosing items for inclusion in an index was face or logical validity (1986: 364). Accordingly prior to analysis, ethnic identity variables were grouped into four categories: primary contacts maintenance, cultural maintenance, ethnic self identification, and association and group rights. As a second step in item selection, after

the initial analysis, the variables were examined for their statistical association within each category to see if they were empirically related to one another as they appeared on the face. As a means of index validation, item analysis was conducted for each ethnic identity index to confirm the relationship between an index and each item in the index.

The initial analysis of the data disproves some of the assumptions made about the behavioural aspects of ethnic identity. First, interest and involvement in acquiring aspects of Japanese culture such as language, arts and sports as an adult or for one's children are different from maintenance of primary contacts, eating habits, ceremonies and the spoken language. The former seem to require motivation and effort while the latter comes more naturally as a continuation of habits and skills acquired during socialization. Similarly, the former are symbolic and expressive behaviors while the latter are part of everyday life. For this reason, the cultural maintenance variables were regrouped into supra culture and infra culture.

A second observation arising out of the initial analysis concerns a difference between involvement in the Japanese community and multiculturalism activities compared to involvement with redress. Involvement in the Japanese community and multiculturalism activities has little relationship with involvement in the redress movement. The former are pursued mainly for friendship and support while the latter is a political activity focussed on rights. This distinction led to a separation of the community participation items from the redress variable.

Following this reasoning the ethnic identity variables were regrouped into seven new areas including five indices and two single-item indices. These indices included strength of Japanese ethnic identity in 1) primary contacts, 2) supra culture, 3) infra culture, 4) community participation, and 5) redress. The two single-item indices are 6) salience of ethnic identity and 7) reaction to discrimination.

In scoring these indices any response was counted if at least one item in the index was answered and the mean score of the answered items was used as the value of the

index. In other words instead of using the sum of the scores of individual items as the index score, the mean score was used. This method enabled the full use of both complete and incomplete records (i.e. instances where no response was given or an item was not applicable could be scored if other items in the index were answered) and prevented the loss of cases in this relatively small sample of 204 respondents.

1. Primary Contacts Index

All items initially grouped under this rubric were included in the index. Included were four items - whether their spouse, contacts and friends were Japanese or not and whether they would wish their children to marry someone who was Japanese. In the scale of 1 through 3, scores 1.75 or lower were recoded as the low level of primary contacts, while scores higher than 1.75 were recoded as the high level of primary contacts.

2. Supra Culture Index

Three items from the cultural maintenance category formed the supra culture index - interest in the Japanese culture, involvement with Japanese culture as an adult, and involvement with Japanese culture as a parent. These items represent aspects of Japanese high culture rather than the maintenance of patterns of everyday life. In the scale of 1 through 5, scores lower than 3 were recoded as the low level of supra culture, while scores 3 or higher were recoded as the high level of supra culture.

3. Infra Culture Index

Four items from the original cultural maintenance category are included in the infra culture index - maintenance of Japanese culinary traditions, maintenance of Japanese ceremonies, and knowledge and use of the Japanese language and the degree of Japanese language use. As the name suggests, infra culture consists of items close to the

everyday life of an individual. In the scale of 1 through 5, scores 2.5 or lower were recoded as the low level of infra culture, while scores higher than 2.5 were recoded as the high level of infra culture.

4. Community Participation Index

Two items originally included in the association and group rights category form the community participation index - involvement in Japanese associations and multiculturalism involvement. Multiculturalism involvement is included in community participation because for many individuals Heritage days is the only time they get involved in multicultural activities and they do so through the Edmonton Japanese Community Association. In the scale of 1 through 3, scores 1.5 or lower were recoded as the low level of community participation, while scores higher than 1.5 were recoded as the high level of community participation.

5. Redress Index

The redress index is also formed from items that had been first included in the association and group rights category. It includes three items: redress view, redress involvement, and definition of redress. In the scale of 1 through 5, scores 2.67 or lower were recoded as the low level of redress, while scores higher than 2.67 were recoded as the high level of redress.

Because items in the ethnic self identification category showed little correlation among themselves, two variables - salience of ethnic identity and reaction to discrimination - are used independently.

6. Salience of Ethnic Identity Index

Ethnic identity salience was measured in three levels - if the respondent regarded the Japanese heritage important or unimportant or if the respondent was uncertain about it.

Individuals who agreed to the importance of Japanese heritage received the highest score, whereas those who disagreed received the lowest, and those who were uncertain received the medium score.

7. Reaction to Discrimination Index

There are two kinds of discrimination reaction - inward and outward. Inward reaction consisting of "I wished I were not Japanese" or "I felt that I just had to endure because there was not much I could do" indicates the lower level of ethnic self-confidence, whereas outward reaction consisting of "I felt angry toward the people who discriminated against me" or "I felt like defending my heritage" indicates the higher level of ethnic self-confidence.

It should be noted that some indicies - primary contacts, supra culture and redress - group attitudinal and behavioural aspects together. Though attitudes and behaviors are not the same thing, such grouping seemed to be reasonable because the behavioural aspects of ethnic identity were weak overall.

C. Education, Generation, and Ethnic Identity Indices

The elaboration model is employed as a method of interpreting empirical relationships. A third variable is held constant to better understand the two-variable relationship. Elaboration enables one to focus on conditional relationships between the independent variable and the dependent variable according to the control variable. Elaboration also enables one to focus on conjoint influence of the independent variable and the control variable on the dependent variable to elucidate independent effects, relative effects, cumulative effects, and typological effects (Rosenberg, 1968). It is in the latter case of examination of conjoint influence when a control variable is treated as another independent variable.

Generation as well as education is known as a major indicator of the level of ethnic identity of ethnic minorities in North American societies. Generation may also be a factor influencing one's educational achievement. Thus, in this study generation is selected as the major control variable. The seven indices of ethnic identity formulated above are examined with education and generation. In the first part, relationships of ethnic identity indices to education and generation will be tested. After bivariate analysis, the relationship between education and ethnic identity is analyzed by controlling for generation, then the relationship between generation and ethnic identity is analyzed by controlling for education. In the second part correlation among ethnic identity indices is tested to see the overall pattern of relationships among the indices, identifying which index relates strongly to another. Special focus is given on community participation and redress: both being organizational activities, different aspects of ethnic identity appear to relate to community and redress. Relationships among aspects of ethnic identity by subgroups of educational levels and generations are examined, which in turn reveal the nature of conditions of the subgroups.

1. Relationships between Education, Generation, and Ethnic Identity Indices

In the process of elaboration a control variable is also an independent variable when its effect is compared to the original independent variable. Accordingly in this section education and generation are each treated as a control variable as well as an independent variable. Relationships between education and generation, both treated as independent variables, and the dependent variable ethnic identity will be analyzed. The relationship between education and ethnic identity will be analyzed with generation held constant; the relationship between generation and ethnic identity will be analyzed with education held constant. But first, the relationship between education and generation is examined. As shown in Table V-23, 36.2% of Nisei compared to 50.4% of Sansei/Yonsei

have a high level of education. Education and generation have a weak positive relationship (gamma=0.28), that is the later generations [Sansei/Yonsei] have higher education than the earlier generation [Nisei].

In the following, the relationships between aspects of ethnic identity and each of education and generation are analyzed.

Table V-23: Relationship between education and generation

		education		
generation		up to university diploma	bachelor and above	total
Nisei	row	63.8%	36.2%	(58) *30.7%*
	column	*36.3%*	*24.1%*	
Sansei/Yonsei	row	49.6%	50.4%	(131) *69.3%*
	column	*63.7%*	*75.9%*	
		(102)	*(87)*	(189)
		54.0%	46.0%	100%
gamma=0.28				missing cases=15 total n=204

a) <u>Education, generation, and primary contacts</u>[4]

As Table V-24 shows, 50.4% of respondents with education up to university diploma (low education) compared to 42.7% of respondents with a bachelor's degree or above (high education) have a high degree of primary contacts. Thus, education has a weak negative relationship with primary contacts (gamma=-0.15).

As Table V-25 shows, 53.4% of Nisei have a high level of primary contacts compared to 42.7% of Sansei/Yonsei: generation has a weak negative relationship with primary contacts (gamma=-0.21).

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[4]primary contacts: whether the respondents' spouse, contacts, and friends are Japanese or not and whether they would wish their children to marry someone who is Japanese

Table V-24: Relationship between education and primary contacts

	education level		
primary contacts	up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above	total
low	(57)49.6%	(51)57.3%	(108)52.9%
high	(58)50.4	(38)42.7	(96)47.1
	(115)56.4%	(89)43.6%	(204)100%

gamma=-0.15

missing cases=0
total n=204

Table V-25: Relationship between generation and primary contacts

	generation		
primary contacts	Nisei	Sansei/Yonsei	total
low	(27)46.6%	(75)57.3%	(102)54.0%
high	(31)53.4	(56)42.7	(87)46.0
	(58)30.7%	(131)69.3%	(189)100%

gamma=-0.21

missing cases=15
total n=204

When the control variable generation is introduced, the relationship between education and primary contacts is found to be different for Nisei and for Sansei/Yonsei. As shown in Table V-26, among Nisei, 57.1% of individuals with high education have a high level of primary contacts compared to 51.4% of those with low education (i.e., they are more likely to have a Japanese spouse, close Japanese friends, Japanese contacts and wish their child to marry someone Japanese). Among Sansei/Yonsei only 37.9% of individuals with high education compared to 47.7% of those with low education have a high level of primary contacts. Thus, educational level has a weak positive relationship (gamma=0.12) with primary contacts among Nisei, whereas among Sansei/Yonsei the relationship is a weak negative one (gamma=-0.20). Thus, generation influences the

relationship between education and primary contacts. Before the dispersion policy of the federal government became effective, most of the Japanese lived in or lived close to the Japanese communities in British Columbia, and between the years of internment, contact with other Japanese was intensified in the all Japanese environment of the internment camp. Intermarriage was not encouraged either by the immigrant parents [Issei] or their non-Japanese counterparts. It was during those years that many Nisei grew up and became young adults, so it is not surprising to find their higher maintenance of Japanese primary contacts.

Table V-26: Relationship between education, generation, and primary contacts

	generation				
	Nisei		Sansei/Yonsei		
	education level				
primary contacts	up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above	up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above	
low	(18)48.6%	(9)42.9%	(34)52.3%	(41)62.1%	
high	(19)51.4	(12)57.1	(31)47.7	(25)37.9	
100%=	(37)	(21)	(65)	(66)	(189)

missing cases=15
total n=204

primary contacts
by education
(Nisei) gamma=0.12
(Sansei/Yonsei) gamma=-0.20
by generation
(up to univ. diploma) gamma=-0.07
(bachelor and above) gamma=-0.37

For both individuals with high education and individuals with low education generation relates negatively to primary contacts. Among those with low education there is only a small difference between generations in terms of the degree of primary contacts, but among those with high education the difference is clearer (See Table V-26). Among those with high education as many as 57.1% of Nisei have a high level of

primary contacts, whereas 62.1% of Sansei/Yonsei exhibit a low level of primary contacts. Although they are in the same direction, generation has a stronger effect among individuals with high education (gamma=-0.37) than individuals with low education (gamma=-0.07).

In sum, educational level and generation have a weak negative relationship with primary contacts. In other words the strength of Japanese ethnic identity in primary contacts is generally lower among individuals with high education than among those with low education and is also lower among Sansei/Yonsei than Nisei. Between the two variables generation has a stronger effect on ethnic identity than education although both generation and education have only weak effects on ethnic identity.

Neither of the original bivariate relationships - the relationship between education and primary contacts or the relationship between generation and primary contacts - disappear with the introduction of a control variable, that is, both education and generation have independent effects on ethnic identity. Educational level and generation, however, have an influence on each other's relationship with primary contacts. A weak negative relationship between educational level and primary contacts remains among Sansei/Yonsei, however, the relationship turns weak but positive among Nisei, that is Nisei with high education had a higher level of primary contacts compared to Nisei with low education. The relationship between generation and primary contacts is negative for both levels of education, but the negative relation is stronger in the high education group, that is the loss of primary contacts among Sansei/Yonsei compared to Nisei is greater among individuals with high education than among individuals with low education. When the effects of both education and generation are combined, it is Nisei with high education that are most likely to have a high level of primary contacts, and it is Sansei/Yonsei with high education that are least likely to have a high level of primary contacts.

b) Education, generation, and supra culture[5]

Only 27.0% of those with low education compared to 51.7% of those with high education show a high degree of supra culture (see Table V-27). Thus, education has a moderate positive relationship with supra culture (gamma=0.49).

Table V-27: Relationship between education and supra culture

supra culture	*education level* up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above	total
low	(84)73.0%	(43)48.3%	(127)62.3%
high	(31)27.0	(46)51.7	(77)37.7
	(115)56.4%	(89)43.6%	(204)100%

gamma=0.49

missing cases=0
total n=204

As Table V-28 shows 31.0% of Nisei show a high level of supra cultural identity, compared to 42.0% of Sansei/Yonsei. Thus, generation has a weak positive relationship with supra culture (gamma=0.23).

When generation is held constant, a greater proportion of individuals with high education compared to those with low education have a high level of supra cultural identity in both generational groups (see Table V-29). Among Nisei 21.6% of individuals with low education compared to 47.6% of those with high education have a high level of supra cultural identity. Among Sansei/Yonsei 32.3% of individuals with low education compared to 51.5% of those with high education have a high level of supra cultural identity. Thus, the relationship remains a moderate positive one whether individuals are Nisei or Sansei/Yonsei (gamma=0.53 for Nisei, gamma=0.38 for

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[5]supra culture: interest in Japanese culture, involvement with Japanese culture as an adult, and involvement with Japanese culture as a parent

Sansei/Yonsei). Generation appears to have a small influence on the relationship between educational level and supra culture.

Table V-28: Relationship between generation and supra culture

supra culture	*generation* Nisei	Sansei/Yonsei	total
low	(40)69.0%	(76)58.0%	(116)61.4%
high	(18)31.0	(55)42.0	(73)38.6
100%=	(58)30.7%	(131)69.3%	(189)100%

gamma=0.23

missing cases=15
total n=204

Table V-29: Relationship between education, generation, and supra culture

supra culture	*generation* Nisei		Sansei/Yonsei	
	education up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above	up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above
low	(29)78.4%	(11)52.4%	(44)67.7%	(32)48.5%
high	(8)21.6	(10)47.6	(21)32.3	(34)51.5
100%=	(37)	(21)	(65)	(66) (189)

missing calues=15
total n=204

supra culture
by education
(Nisei) gamma=0.53
(Sansei/Yonsei) gamma=0.38
by generation
(up to univ. diploma) gamma=0.27
(bachelor and above) gamma=0.08

The relationship between generation and supra culture remains in the same direction when it is controlled for education: in both the low education group and the high education group the relationships are weak and positive. More specifically, however, the relationship holds among the low education group (gamma=0.27), whereas

the generational effect weakens among the high education group (gamma=0.08) (see Table V-29). Overall, education has a small influence on the relationship between generation and supra culture.

In sum, educational level has a moderate positive relationship with the strength of Japanese ethnic identity in supra culture, that is those with high education tend to have a higher level of supra culture than those with low education. Generation has a weak positive relationship with the strength of Japanese ethnic identity in supra culture, that is Sansei/Yonsei tend to have a higher level of supra cultural identity compared to Nisei. While neither generation nor educational level appears to alter each other's overall relationship with supra culture, the relationship between generation and supra culture is weaker among individuals with high education than for the low education group. As supra culture had a stronger relationship with educational level than with generation, those with high education generally had a high level of supra cultural identity regardless of their generational status. As both education and generation are related to supra culture when the other is held constant, their influence on supra cultural identity is independent and cumulative. It is Sansei/Yonsei with high education that are most likely to have a high level of supra cultural identity, while Nisei with low education are least likely to have a high level of supra cultural identity.

c) Education, generation, and infra culture[6]

Among the respondents, 40.9% of those with low education compared to 30.3% of those with high education have a high degree of infra cultural identity (See Table V-30). Thus, education has a weak negative relationship with infra culture (gamma=-0.23).

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[6]infra culture: maintenance of Japanese culinary traditions, maintenance of Japanese ceremonies, and knowledge and use of the Japanese language and the degree of Japanese language use

Table V-30: Relationship between education and infra culture

infra culture	*education level* up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above	total
low	(68)59.1%	(62)69.7%	(130)63.7%
high	(47)40.9	(27)30.3	(74)36.3
	(115)56.4%	(89)43.6%	(204)100%

gamma=-0.23

missing cases=0
total n=204

Table V-31: Relationship between generation and infra culture

infra culture	*generation* Nisei	Sansei/Yonsei	total
low	(18)31.0%	(104)79.4%	(122)64.6%
high	(40)69.0	(27)20.6	(67)35.4
	(58)30.7%	(131)69.3%	(189)100%

gamma=-0.79

missing cases=15
total n=204

For Nisei, 69.0% have a high level of infra cultural identity, whereas 79.4% of Sansei/Yonsei have a low level of infra culture (see Table V-31). Thus, generation has a strong negative relationship with infra culture (gamma=-0.79).

When generation is held constant the relationship between education and infra culture differs between generational groups. Among Sansei/Yonsei 24.6% of those with low education compared to 16.7% of those with high education have a high level of infra cultural identity. Among Nisei, however, 64.9% of those with low education have a high level of infra cultural identity compared to 76.2% of those with high education (see Table V-32). Thus, education turns out to have a weak but positive relationship (gamma=0.27) with infra culture among Nisei, whereas among Sansei/Yonsei the relationship is weak but negative (gamma=-0.24). Thus, a negative relationship between education and infra culture holds only for Sansei/Yonsei but not for Nisei:

generation has a substantial influence on the relationship between education and infra culture. Maintenance of infra culture among Nisei may be explained by the same reason primary contacts were maintained by them - the enforced closeness of the Japanese community during the time Nisei were socialized. Besides, Nisei were exposed to a first hand experience with the Japanese foods, ceremonies, and language of their immigrant parents.

Table V-32: Relationship between education, generation, and infra culture

infra culture	*generation* Nisei		Sansei/Yonsei	
	education level up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above	up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above
low	(13)35.1%	(5)23.8%	(49)75.4%	(55)83.3%
high	(24)64.9	(16)76.2	(16)24.6	(11)16.7
100%=	(37)	(21)	(65)	(66) (189)

missing cases=15
total n=204

infra culture by education
(Nisei) gamma=0.27
(Sansei/Yonsei)gamma=-0.24
by generation
(up to univ. diploma) gamma=-0.70
(bachelor and above) gamma=-0.88

When educational level is held constant, it is found that infra culture is well maintained by Nisei but not by Sansei/Yonsei in either educational level. A strong negative relationship between generation and infra culture remains for both the low education group (gamma=-0.70) and the high education group (gamma=-0.88). Thus, education appears to have only a small influence on the relationship between generation and infra culture.

Educational level has a weak negative relationship with the strength of infra cultural identity, while generation has a strong negative relationship with infra cultural identity. However, there is an interaction effect between education and generation. Whereas among Sansei/Yonsei the relationship between educational level and infra culture is negative, the relationship between educational level and infra culture among Nisei is positive, that is a greater proportion of Nisei with high education than Nisei with low education have a high level of infra cultural identity. It is Sansei/Yonsei with high education that are least likely to have a high level of infra cultural identity and it is Nisei with high education that are most likely to have a high level of infra cultural identity. The strong negative relationship between generation and infra culture remains basically the same for both the low education group and the high education group. In other words infra cultural identity is generally lower among Sansei/Yonsei than Nisei regardless of educational level.

d) Education, generation, and community participation[7]

Table V-33: Relationship between education and community participation

community participation	*education level* up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above	total
low	(65)56.5%	(44)49.4%	(109)53.4%
high	(50)43.5	(45)50.6	(95)46.6
	(115)56.4%	(89)43.6%	(204)100%

gamma=0.14

missing cases=0
total n=204

[7]community participation: involvement in Japanese associations and multiculturalism involvement

As Table V-33 shows, 43.5% of those with low education compared to 50.6% of those with high education have a high degree of Japanese community participation. Thus, education has a weak positive relationship with community participation (gamma=0.14).

Table V-34: Relationship between generation and community participation

community participation	*generation* Nisei	Sansei/Yonsei	total
low	(25)43.1%	(79)60.3%	(104)55.0%
high	(33)56.9	(52)39.7	(85)45.0
	(58)30.7%	(131)69.3%	(189)100%

gamma=-0.33

missing cases=15
total n=204

As Table V-34 shows, the majority of Nisei (56.9%) hava a high level of community participation, while the majority of Sansei/Yonsei (60.3%) have a low level of community participation. Thus, generation has a weak negative relationship with community participation (gamma=-0.33).

When generation is held constant, it was found that the original relationship holds more clearly in both generation groups. Among Nisei 51.4% of individuals with low education have a high level of community participation, whereas 66.7% of individuals with high education have a high level of community participation. Among Sansei/Yonsei 33.8% of those with low education have a high level of community participation, whereas 45.5% of those with high education have a high level of community participation. The relationship between education and community participation strengthens but remains weak and positive for both Nisei (gamma=0.31), and Sansei/Yonsei (gamma=0.24). In sum, generation has little influence on the relationship between education and community participation.

Table V-35: Relationship between education, generation, and community participation

community participation	*generation* Nisei		Sansei/Yonsei	
	education level up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above	up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above
low	(18)48.6%	(7)33.3%	(43)66.2%	(36)54.5%
high	(19)51.4	(14)66.7	(22)33.8	(30)45.5
100%=	(37)	(21)	(65)	(66) (189)

missing cases=15
total n=204

community participation
by education
(Nisei) gamma=0.31
(Sansei/Yonsei) gamma=0.24
by generation
(up to univ. diploma) gamma=-0.35
(bachelor and above) gamma=-0.41

As education was held constant it was found that the relationship between generation and community participation holds more clearly for both education groups. Among individuals with low education 51.4% of Nisei compared to 33.8% of Sansei/Yonsei have a high level of community participation. Among individuals with high education 66.7% of Nisei compared to 45.5% of Sansei/Yonsei have a high level of community participation. Thus, the relationship between generation and community participation remains basically the same but becomes clearer for both the low education group (gamma=-0.35) and the high education group (gamma=-0.41).

In sum, education has a weak positive relationship with the strength of Japanese ethnic identity in community participation, that is individuals with high education tended to have a high level of community participation. Generation has a weak negative relationship with community participation, that is Sansei/Yonsei tend to have a low level of community participation compared to Nisei. Neither education nor generation appears to influence each other's relationship with community participation. Generation has a stronger effect on community participation than education does, that is the

declining rate of community participation among younger generations is greater than the increasing rate of community participation among those with high education. With the effects of both education and generation combined, it is Sansei/Yonsei with low education that are least likely to have a high level of community participation, and it is Nisei with high education that are most likely to have a high level of community participation.

e) Education, generation, and redress[8]

As shown in Table V-36, 50.5% of those with low education compared to 60.7% of those with high education have a more favourable disposition towards redress. Thus, education has a weak positive relationships with redress (gamma=0.20).

Table V-36: Relationship between education and redress

redress	*education level* up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above	total
low	(54)49.5%	(35)39.3%	(89)44.9%
high	(55)50.5	(54)60.7	(109)55.1
	(109)55.1%	(89)44.9%	(198)100%

gamma=0.20 missing cases=6
total n=204

As Table V-37 shows, the majority of Nisei (63.6%) have a high level of ethnic identity in redress compared to a smaller proportion of Sansei/Yonsei (49.2%). Thus, generation has a weak negative relationship with redress (gamma=-0.29).

[8]redress: redress view, redress involvement and definition of redress

Table V-37: Relationship between generation and redress

redress	*generation* Nisei	Sansei/Yonsei	total
low	(20)36.4%	(66)50.8%	(86)46.5%
high	(35)63.6	(64)49.2	(99)53.5
	(55)29.7%	(130)70.3%	(185)100%

gamma=-0.29

missing cases=19
total n=204

Introduction of generation as a control variable reveals that the positive relationship between education and redress holds and strengthens for Sansei/Yonsei but reverses its direction for Nisei. Among Sansei/Yonsei 39.1% of individuals with low education compared to 59.1% of individuals with high education have a high level of Japanese ethnic identity in redress. Among Nisei there is only a little difference between education groups but a greater proportion (64.7%) of individuals with low education compared to those with high education (61.9%) have a high level of Japanese ethnic identity in redress. Thus, education and redress has a weak negative relationship among Nisei (gamma=-0.06), while education has a moderate positive relationship with redress among Sansei/Yonsei (gamma=0.39) (see Table V-38). Generation has a substantial influence on the relationship between education and redress. On the one hand, the fact that there are as many as 64.7% of Nisei with low education supporting redress may be explained because many of them suffered exclusion themselves and because the educational level was overall lower for this generation than Sansei/Yonsei. On the other hand, the fact that quite a few Nisei with high education were negative or passive about redress rather than supporting it may be because those individuals achieved their status by forgetting (or trying to forget) about the negative experiences as Japanese. In the responses and during the telephone follow-up some older Nisei were

identified to be showing anger by the question of "Japanese", "exclusion" or "redress" and to deny the existence of Japanese identity or racial discrimination.

The relationship between generation and redress remains in the same direction but changes its strength when it is controlled for education. As shown in Table V-38 among the low education group 64.7% of Nisei have a high level of redress, whereas 60.9% of Sansei/Yonsei have a low level of redress (gamma=-0.48). On the other hand, among the high education group there was little difference in the level of redress in terms of generation and majority of both generation groups hava a high level of redress (gamma=-0.06). Education has a substantial influence on the relationship between generation and redress.

Table V-38: Relationship between education, generation, and redress

redress	*generation* Nisei		Sansei/Yonsei	
	education level up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above	up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above
low	(12)35.3%	(8)38.1%	(39)60.9%	(27)40.9%
high	(22)64.7	(13)61.9	(25)39.1	(39)59.1
100%=	(34)	(21)	(64)	(66) (185)

missing cases=19
total n=204

redress by education
(Nisei) gamma=-0.06
(Sansei/Yonsei) gamma=0.39
by generation
(up to univ. diploma) gamma=-0.48
(bachelor and above) gamma=-0.06

In sum education has a weak positive relationship with the strength of Japanese ethnic identity in redress. Generation has a weak negative relationship with the strength of Japanese ethnic identity in redress. Effects of education and generation on redress

are similar in strength but in the opposite direction. Both education and generation appear to influence each other's relationship with redress. On the one hand, education has a moderate positive relationship with redress among Sansei/Yonsei, but among Nisei education had a weak negative relationship with redress. In other words, Sansei/Yonsei with high education and Nisei with low education are likely to support redress as their rights and regard its monetary component as important. On the other hand, generation has a moderate negative relationship with redress among the low education group and a weak but also negative relationship among the high education group, that is support for redress as their rights and for its monetary component is weaker among Sansei/Yonsei than Nisei especially among those with low education. The tendency stated above indicates a complex relationship surrounding redress, that is, redress was becoming an unknown or insignificant issue among the low education group as the time passed and generation lengthened, but redress also had new supporters among Sansei/Yonsei generations with a high level of education. With the effects of both education and generation combined, it is Sansei/Yonsei with low education that are least likely to have a high level of redress, and it is Nisei with low education that are most likely to have a high level of redress.

f) **Education, generation, and salience of ethnic identity**

Salience of ethnic identity was measured by a single item asking how important their Japanese heritage was to respondents. As shown in Table V-39, a smaller proportion of respondents with low education (51.8%) than those with high education (71.9%) agree to the statement that their Japanese heritage is important to them. Thus, education has a moderate positive relationship with salience of ethnic identity (gamma=0.35).

As Table V-40 shows, a slightly greater proportion of Sansei/Yonsei (9.2%) than Nisei (5.3%) think the Japanese heritage is unimportant to them, while the

proportion of those who are uncertain about the importance of the Japanese heritage and the proportion of those who think the Japanese heritage is important to them are almost the same between the generational groups. Thus, generation has a weak negative relationship with salience of ethnic identity (gamma=-0.07).

Table V-39: Relationship between education and salience of ethnic identity

salience	*education level* up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above	total
disagree	(10)8.9%	(7)7.9%	(17)8.5%
uncertain	(44)39.3	(18)20.2	(62)30.8
agree	(58)51.8	(64)71.9	(122)60.7
	(112)55.7%	(89)44.3%	(201)100%

gamma=0.35

missing cases=3
total n=204

Table V-40: Relationship between generation and salience of ethnic identity

salience	*generation* Nisei	Sansei/Yonsei	total
disagree	(3)5.3%	(12)9.2%	(15)8.0%
uncertain	(18)31.6	(39)29.8	(57)30.3
agree	(36)63.2	(80)61.1	(116)61.7
	(57)30.3%	(131)69.7%	(188)100%

gamma=-0.07

missing cases=16
total n=204

As shown in Table V-41, controlling for generation it was found that the relationship between education and salience of ethnic identity is positive for both generational groups. Among Nisei 52.8% of individuals with low education compared to 81.0% of those with high education regard the Japanese heritage important, and among

Sansei/Yonsei 50.8% of those with low education compared to 71.2% of those with high education regard the Japanese heritage important. The relationship between education and salience of ethnic identity remains the same for Sansei/Yonsei (gamma=0.34), but holds more clearly among Nisei (gamma=0.53)

Table V-41: Relationship between education, generation, and salience of ethnic identity

salience	*generation* Nisei		Sansei/Yonsei	
	education level up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above	up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above
disagree	(2)5.6%	(1)4.8%	(6)9.2%	(6)9.1%
uncertain	(15)41.7	(3)14.3	(26)40.0	(13)19.7
agree	(19)52.8	(17)81.0	(33)50.8	(47)71.2
100%=	(36)	(21)	(65)	(66) (188)

missing cases=16
total n=204

salience
by education
(Nisei) gamma=0.53
(Sansei/Yonsei) gamma=0.34
by generation
(up to univ. diploma) gamma=-0.06
(bachelor and above) gamma=-0.26

For both individuals with low education and high education the relationship between generation and salience of ethnic identity is negative. Among individuals with low education 52.8% of Nisei compared to 50.8% of Sansei/Yonsei regard the Japanese heritage important, and among individuals with high education 81.0% of Nisei compared to 71.2% of Sansei/Yonsei do so (see Table V-41). The negative relationship between generation and salience, however, holds more clearly among the high education group (gamma=-0.26) than for the low education group (gamma=-0.06).

In sum, education has a moderate positive relationship with salience of ethnic identity, that is those with high education tend to have a high level of salience of ethnic

identity. Generation has a weak negative relationship with salience of ethnic identity, that is Sansei/Yonsei tend to have a low level of salience of ethnic identity. Overall education relates to salience of ethnic identity more strongly than generation does. As education still affects salience while generation is controlled and generation affects salience while education is controlled, education and generation have independent effects on salience. Both education and generation have some influence on each other's relationship with salience. The original positive relationship between education and salience holds more clearly among Nisei and the original negative relationship between generation and salience holds more clearly among individuals with high education. With effects of education and generation combined, it is Nisei with high education that are most likely to regard the Japanese heritage important and it is Sansei/Yonsei with low education that are least likely to regard the Japanese heritage important.

g) Education, generation, and reaction to discrimination

Those who showed an outward reaction against prejudice or discrimination constituted 43.6% of the respondents with low education compared to 51.7% of the respondents with high education (see Table V-42). Thus, education has a weak positive relationship with reaction to discrimination (gamma=0.16).

Table V-42: Relationship between education and reaction to discrimination

reaction to discrimination	*education level*		
	up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above	total
inward	(44)56.4%	(29)48.3%	(73)52.9%
outward	(34)43.6	(31)51.7	(65)47.1
	(78)56.5%	(60)43.5%	(138)100%

gamma=0.16

missing cases=66
total n=204

As shown in Table V-43, only 34.0% of Nisei have an outward reaction against prejudice or discrimination, whereas 54.3% of Sansei/Yonsei have an outward reaction. Thus, generation has a moderate positive relationship with reaction to discrimination (gamma=0.39).

Table V-43: Relationship between generation and reaction to discrimination

discrimination reaction	*generation* Nisei	Sansei/Yonsei	total
inward	(31)66.0%	(37)45.7%	(68)53.1%
outward	(16)34.0	(44)54.3	(60)46.9
	(47)36.7%	(81)63.3%	(128)100%

gamma=0.39

missing cases=76
total n=204

When a control variable generation is introduced, it is found that the positive relationship between education and reaction to discrimination strengthens among Nisei but weakens among Sansei/Yonsei. Among Nisei 29.0% of those with low education compared to 43.8% of those with high education have an outward reaction; among Sansei/Yonsei 52.6% of those with low education compared to 55.8% of those with high education have an outward reaction (see Table V-44). The relationship between education and reaction to discrimination is stronger among Nisei (gamma=0.31) than among Sansei/Yonsei (gamma=0.06). Thus, generation has an influence on the relationship between educational level and reaction to discrimination.

As Table V-44 shows, among individuals with low education 29.0% of Nisei compared to 52.6% of Sansei/Yonsei have an outward reaction, and among individuals with high education 43.8% of Nisei compared to 55.8% of Sansei/Yonsei have an outward reaction. The relationship is clearer among the low education group

(gamma=0.46). In contrast the relationship is weaker among the high education group (gamma=0.24). Thus, education has an influence on the relationship between generation and reaction to discrimination.

Table V-44: Relationship between education, generation, and reaction to discrimination

discrimination reaction	*generation* Nisei		Sansei/Yonsei	
	education level up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above	up to univ. diploma	bachelor and above
inward	(22)71.0%	(9)56.3%	(18)47.4%	(19)44.2%
outward	(9)29.0	(7)43.8	(20)52.6	(24)55.8
100%=	(31)	(16)	(38)	(43) (128)

missing cases=76
total n=204

discrimination reaction by education
(Nisei) gamma=0.31
(Sansei/Yonsei) gamma=0.06
by generation
(up to univ. diploma) gamma=0.46
(bachelor and above) gamma=0.24

In sum, education and the strength of Japanese ethnic identity in reaction to discrimination have a weak positive relationship. Generation and the strength of Japanese ethnic identity in reaction to discrimination have a moderate positive relationship. Overall generation relates to reaction to discrimination more strongly than education does. Education and generation have independent effects on reaction to discrimination: education affects reaction when generation is held constant and generation affects reaction when education is held constant. Both education and generation have an influence on each other's relationship with reaction to discrimination. The relationship between education and reaction to discrimination is much stronger among Nisei than than among Sansei/Yonsei. And the relationship

between generation and reaction to discrimination is much stronger among those with low education than among those with high education. The above finding suggests that an outward reaction to discrimination may have been once learned from obtaining high education, but it is now a norm for everybody regardless of the educational level. With effects of education and generation combined, it is Sansei/Yonsei with high education that are most likely to have an outward reaction to discrimination, and it is Nisei with low education that are least likely to have an outward reaction to discrimination.

h) **Summary**

Generally education has positive relationships with all the ethnic identity variables except primary contacts and infra culture. Conversely generation has negative relationships with all the ethnic identity variables except supra culture and discrimination reaction. Primary contacts and infra culture are lost as a high level of education is achieved and generation (family history) in Canada lengthens - as assimilationists hypothesize. Supra culture and reaction to discrimination become stronger with a high level of education and a longer generation (family history) in Canada - as supporters of ethnic survival or resurgence hypothesize. The other three aspects - salience of ethnic identity, redress, and community participation - have positive relationships with education but negative relationships with generation.

When a control variable was introduced, none of the sets of partial relationships disappeared. Both education and generation appeared to influence ethnic identity independently of each other. Thus, possibilities were eliminated for the explanatory model (i.e., generation influences both educational level and ethnic identity and makes a spurious relationship between educational level and ethnic identity look genuine) nor the interpretative model (i.e., generation influences educational level and educational level in turn influences ethnic identity).

Some sets of partial relationships remained essentially the same as the zero-order relationship, whereas in others partial relationships did not. The former is called the replication model and the latter is called the specification model and its variations (see Babbie, 1986: 398-401). The difference between "essentially the same" and "split" is a tricky one because there is no statistical standard set for the differences between percentage figures or gamma values in the elaboration model. An arbitrary but logically consistent standard was set to generalize the results of the analysis. The partial relationships were considered essentially the same as the original if the partial relationships remained in the same direction as the original and the difference between the original and a partial and the difference between the partials were less than than 0.20 in gamma when rounded at one hundredth of a decimal. A partial relationship was considered different from the original if the difference between the original and a partial or the difference between the partials was 0.20 or greater in gamma when rounded at one hundredth of a decimal, or if the direction of the relationship reversed in the partial relationship (i.e., positive vs. negative; zero vs. some) compared to the original relationship.

Table V-45: Relationships between education and ethnic identity indices: zero-order relationship and partial relationships with generation held constant

gamma	zero-order	partial	
		Nisei	Sansei/Yonsei
supra culture	0.49	0.53	0.38
salience of ethnic identity	0.35	0.53	0.34
redress	0.20	-0.06	0.39
reaction to discrimination	0.16	0.31	0.06
community participation	0.14	0.31	0.24
primary contacts	-0.15	0.12	-0.20
infra culture	-0.23	0.27	-0.24

Table V-46: Relationships between generation and ethnic identity indices: zero-order relationship and partial relationships with education held constant

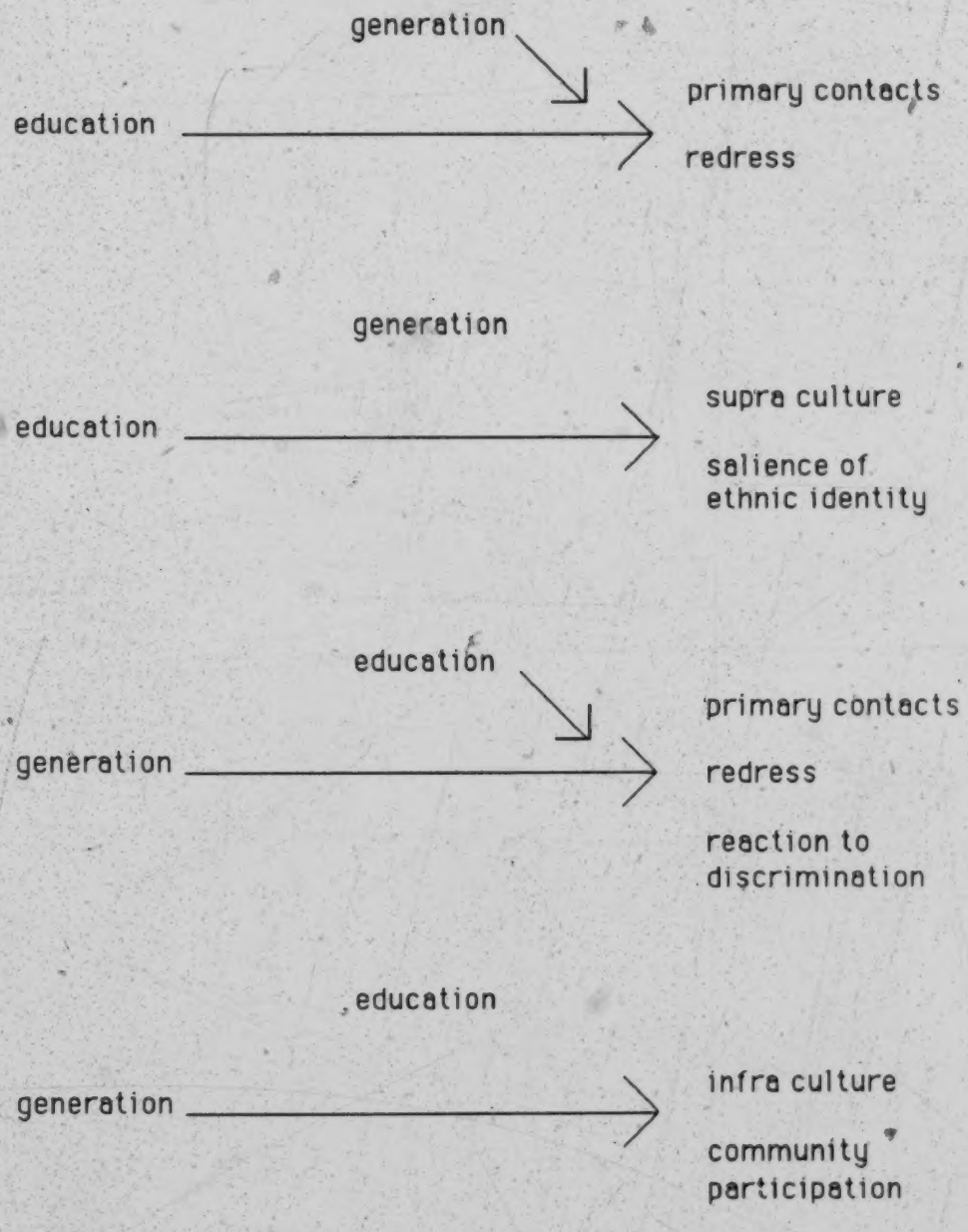
gamma	zero-order	partial	
		lower ed.	higher ed.
reaction to discrimination	0.39	0.46	0.24
supra culture	0.23	0.27	0.08
salience of ethnic identity	-0.07	-0.06	-0.26
primary contacts	-0.21	-0.07	-0.37
redress	-0.29	-0.48	-0.06
community participation	-0.33	-0.35	-0.41
infra culture	-0.79	-0.70	-0.88

The relationships of education to the three indices - supra culture, salience of ethnic identity, and community participation - remain essentially the same when controlled for generation, that is generation has only a small influence on the relationships of education to these indices. On the other hand, the relationships of education to the other four indices - discrimination reaction, redress, primary contacts, and infra culture - are significantly different for each generational group, that is the relationships of education to the indices depend on the generational group..

The relationships of generation to three indices - supra culture community participation, and infra culture - remain essentially the same when controlled for education, that is an educational level makes only a small difference in the relationships between generation and the indices. On the other hand, the relationships of generation to the other four indices - discrimination reaction, salience of ethnic identity, redress, and primary contacts - are significantly different for each educational group, that is the relationships of generation to the indices depend on the educational level.

The relative effects of education and generation on each of the ethnic identity indices considered, the three-variable relationships between education, generation and ethnic identity is summarized in Figure V-1.

Figure V-1: Relationships between education, generation, and ethnic identity indices



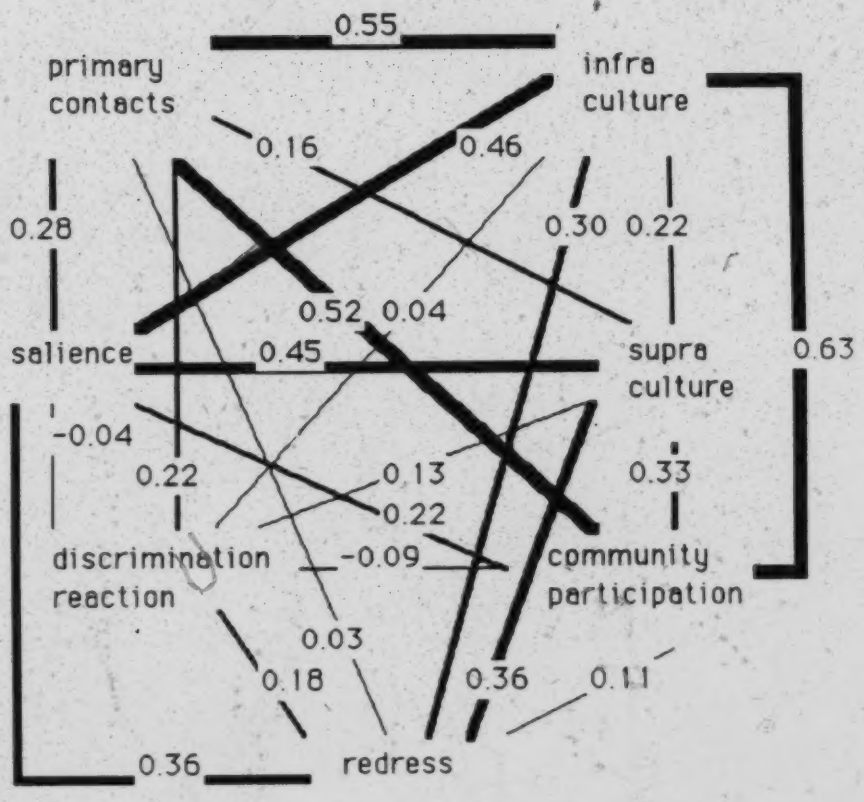
2. Relationships among Ethnic Identity Indices

In this section relationships among seven indices of ethnic identity will be examined to better understand the characteristics of the indices - some indices may relate closer to each other than others. Late in the discussion the two control variables - education and generation - will be introduced in the relationships. According to M. Rosenberg, "Not only may conditional relationships add to our understanding of the nature of the independent or dependent variables, but they may also enable one to learn more about the test factor itself" (1968: 150). Following this logic, relationships among the ethnic identity indices in four test factor [control variable] categories - low education, high education, Nisei, and Sansei/Yonsei - will be examined and compared to learn about the test factor categories.

a) Relationships among ethnic identity indices: zero-order relationships

In Figure V-2 the relationships among the aspects of ethnic identity are shown. We recognize two circles of relationships clearly. There exists a circle of relationship that connects primary contacts, infra culture and community participation (gamma is 0.55, 0.63 and 0.52 respectively among the three indices as shown in Figure V-2). We also find a circle of relationship that connects salience, supra culture and redress (gamma is 0.45, 0.36 and 0.36 respectively among the three indices as shown in Figure V-2). These two circles of relationships may suggest different characteristics with them, although the two circles are connected with such relationships as the one between infra culture and salience (gamma=0.46). In fact relationships between redress and both primary contacts (gamma=0.03) and community participation (gamma=0.11) are weak. When we focus on community participation and redress, it is found that those aspects of ethnic identity closely related to community participation are different from those closely related to redress. As Figure V-2 shows, community participation has a moderate positive relationship with infra culture (gamma=0.63) and primary contacts

Figure V-2:
Relationships among ethnic identity indices (gamma)



(gamma=0.52), whereas redress has a moderate positive relationship with supra culture and salience (gamma=0.36 for both). In other words individuals who have a Japanese spouse, close Japanese friends, frequent and many contacts with other Japanese, and who wished their child to marry a Japanese, and individuals who could speak Japanese, spoke Japanese frequently with many people, and kept Japanese culinary and ceremonial traditions, tend to be involved with Japanese community. Those who are involved with redress or at least support redress as a matter of rights and especially for monetary compensation tend to be those who show interest in Japanese culture and are involved in lessons in Japanese arts, sports and language and those who agree to the importance of Japanese heritage. In the following, the relationships among aspects of ethnic identity will be further analyzed by controlling for education and by generation.

b) Relationships among ethnic identity indices controlling for education

As Figure V-3 shows, among individuals with education up to university diploma (low education) the relationship among primary contacts, infra culture and community participation remains basically the same with the zero-order relationship although the relationship between primary contacts and infra culture decreases slightly (gamma=0.43) and the relationship between infra culture and community participation increases slightly (gamma=0.67). Salience has a moderate positive relationship with supra culture (gamma=0.38). Another relationship to be recognized is the stronger relationship between salience and community participation (gamma=0.42). This indicates individuals with low education, for whom being Japanese is important, seek Japanese community participation. As Figure V-4 shows, among individuals with low education community participation relates closely with primary contacts, infra culture and salience. Relationships to the redress index are hard to find, as shown in Figure V-5: redress has a weak positive relationship with infra culture (gamma=0.21),

Figure V-3: Relationships among ethnic identity indices controlling for education (gamma)

low education

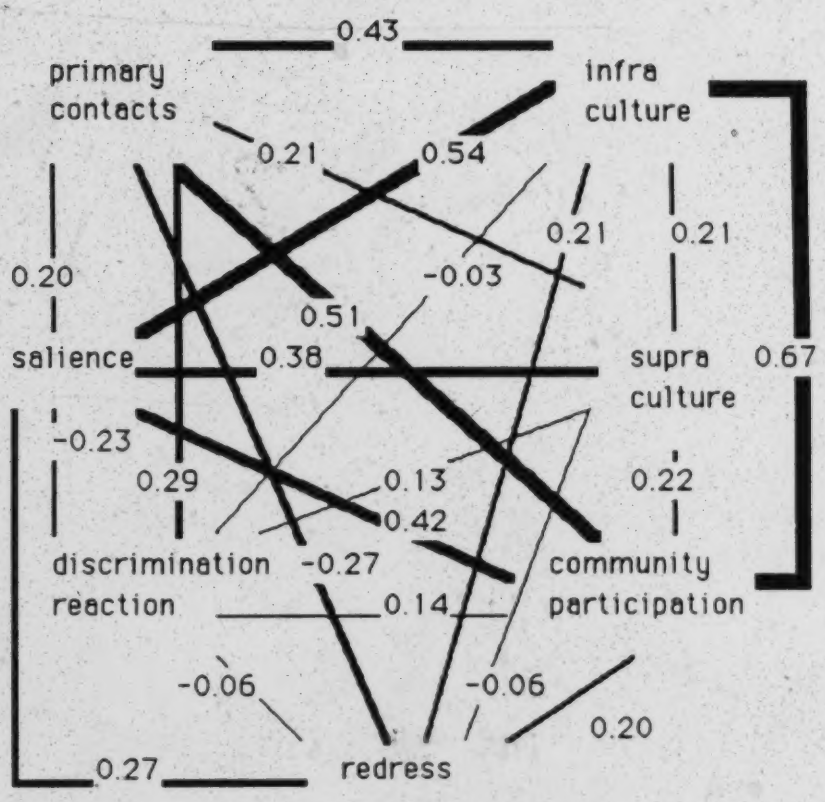


Figure V-4: Relationships to community participation: (gamma) *low education*

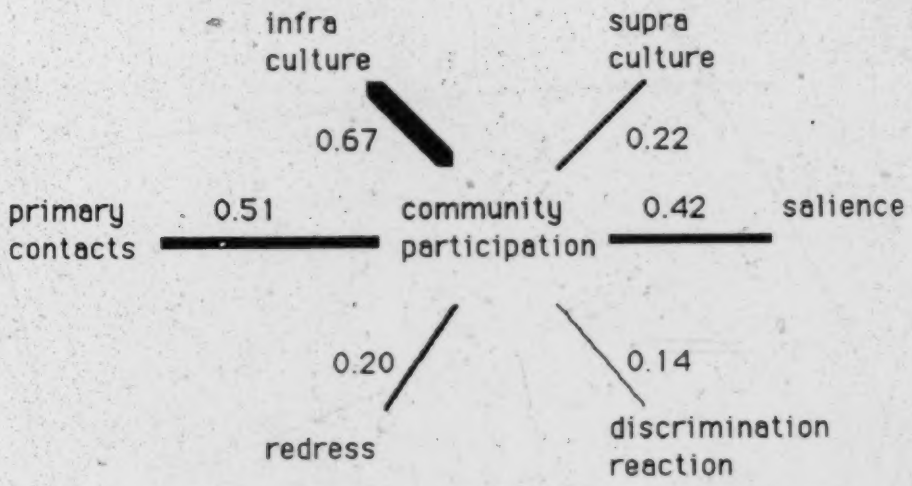
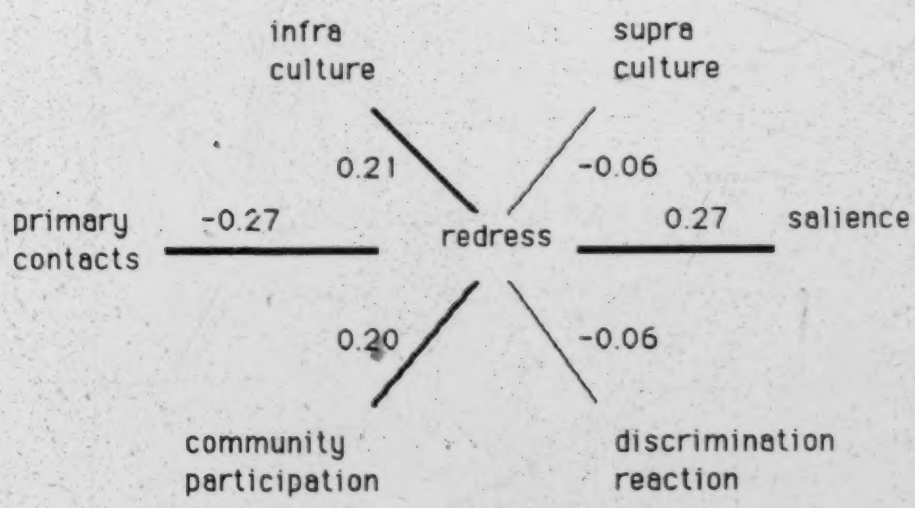


Figure V-5: Relationships to redress: (gamma) *low education*



community participation (gamma=0.20) and salience (gamma=0.27). The relationship between redress and both supra culture and reaction to discrimination, however, is negative (gamma=-0.06 for both) and the relationship between primary contacts and redress is also negative (gamma=-0.27).

As Figure V-6 shows, among individuals with a bachelor degree or above, the relationships among primary contacts, infra culture and community participation is basically the same as the zero-order relationship; the relationship between primary contacts and infra culture increases slightly (gamma=0.69) and the relationship between primary contacts and community participation also increases slightly (gamma=0.57). Those aspects of ethnic identity that relate closely to community participation are primary contacts, infra culture and supra culture. The relationship between salience and primary contacts increases (gamma=0.51) and forms another recognizable circle of relationship with infra culture. Negative relationships are found, however, between salience and community participation (gamma=-0.14) and between discrimination reaction and community participation (gamma=-0.39) compared to the positive relationship for the individuals with low educational level (see Figure V-7). This indicates that some individuals with high educational level are not participating in the Japanese community despite their strong ethnic identity expressed in salience and discrimination reaction. As Figure V-8 shows, for the more highly educated stronger relationships with redress are found among all aspects of ethnic identity except community participation. The relationships between salience and supra culture, and redress not only remain as in the zero-order relationship but are intensified with the increase in the relationship between supra culture and redress (gamma=0.67). The relationships between redress and each of infra culture (gamma=0.51), primary contacts (gamma=0.46) and discrimination reaction (gamma=0.46) are also positively intensified. Among individuals with high education the relationship between redress and community participation is almost nonexistent (gamma=-0.03).

Figure V-6: Relationships among ethnic identity indices controlling for education (gamma)

high education

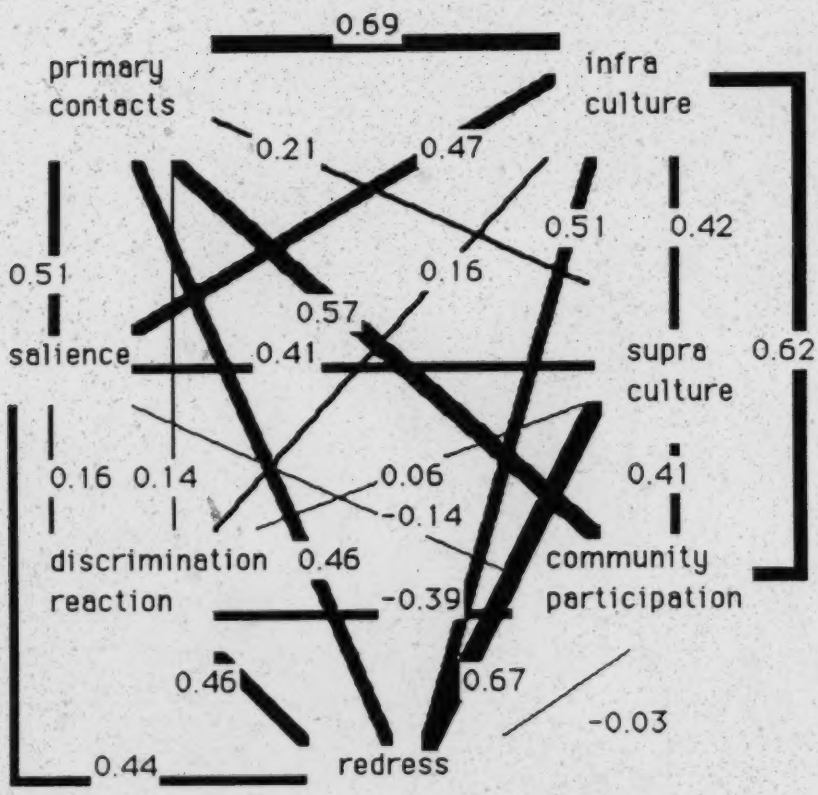


Figure V-7: Relationships to community participation (gamma) *high education*

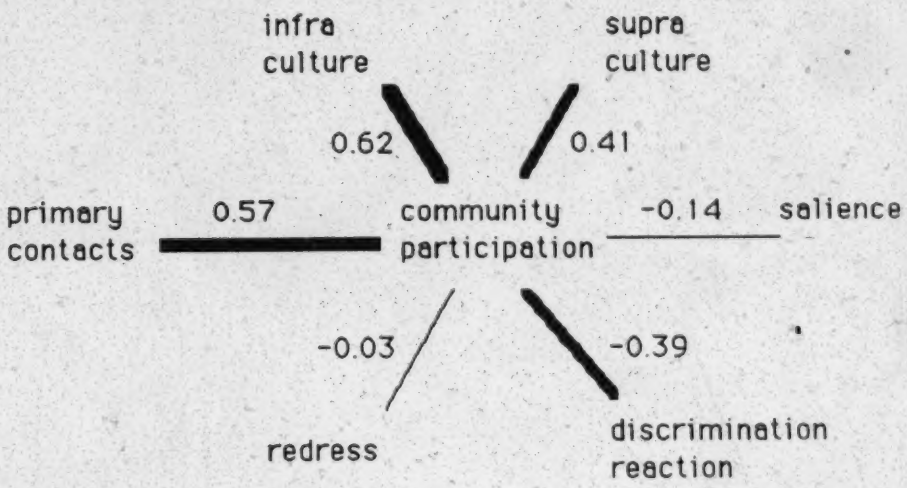
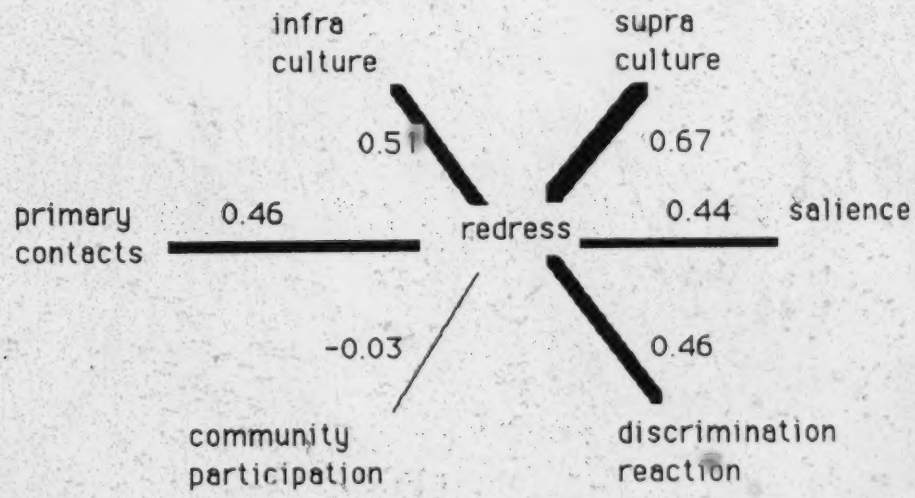


Figure V-8: Relationships to redress (gamma) *high education*



In sum, educational level appears to influence the way individuals react to discrimination and participate in the community. Salience of ethnic identity seems to have different meanings to individuals according to the educational level. Individuals with low education participate in the Japanese community because of the salience of ethnic identity or reaction to discrimination (see Figure V-4), whereas individuals with high education do not participate in the Japanese community despite the salience of ethnic identity or reaction to discrimination (see Figure V-7). Educational level also seems to influence the venue to redress. On the one hand, individuals with low education are less likely to support redress even if they may have strong reaction to discrimination, primary contacts and supra culture (see Figure V-5). Individuals with high education, on the other hand, are more likely to support redress if they have strong discrimination reaction, salience, primary contacts , infra culture and supra culture (see Figure V-8).

Therefore the educational level seems to influence some of the relationships among aspects of ethnic identity. When the relationships are controlled for the educational level, we find: individuals with the low educational level are likely to participate in the Japanese community but not likely to support redress if their ethnic identity in other areas is strong; individuals with high educational level are also likely to participate in the Japanese community if their primary contacts, infra culture and supra culture are strong but when the salience of ethnic identity and reaction to discrimination are strong it is not likely they will participate in community associations but yet they will support redress. Redress and community participation have almost no relationship for individuals with high education. The weak relationship between redress and community participation among individuals with low education indicates that community participation is not generally political though there are some in the community who support redress.

c) Relationships among ethnic identity indices controlling for generation

As Figure V-9 shows, among Nisei the original moderate positive relationships among primary contacts, infra culture, and community participation are essentially unchanged (gamma=0.40, 0.49, and 0.56 respectively). Other relationships, however, show changes. On the one hand, the relationships between primary contacts and salience, community participation and salience, and infra culture and supra culture increase to moderate positive relationships (gamma=0.47, 0.39, and 0.50 respectively). On the other hand, the relationship between infra culture and salience is reduced to a weak positive relationship (gamma=0.26), and the relationship between redress and salience changes from a moderate positive relationship (gamma=0.36) to a weak negative relationship (gamma=-0.16). The above findings support the link among primary contacts, infra culture, and community participation, but reveal that some relationships with salience were characteristic among Nisei. Indeed, the meaning of salience itself may be clarified in this pattern of relationships. When the Japanese heritage is important for Nisei (high level of salience), they are likely to have a high level of ethnic identity especially in primary contacts, supra culture, and community participation, but are likely to have a low level of ethnic identity as manifested in redress. Focusing on community participation, we find that primary contacts, infra culture, and salience have substantial relationships with community participation (see Figure V-10). On the other hand, redress has substantial relationships only with supra culture and reaction to discrimination (see Figure V-11). Like salience, reaction to discrimination is an index that separates community participation from redress: reaction to discrimination has a weak negative relationship with community participation (gamma=-0.16), whereas reaction to discrimination has a weak positive relationship with redress (gamma=0.29), that is, Nisei with outward reaction tend to support and be involved with redress but not community participation.

Figure V-9: Relationships among ethnic identity indices controlling for generation (gamma)

Nisei

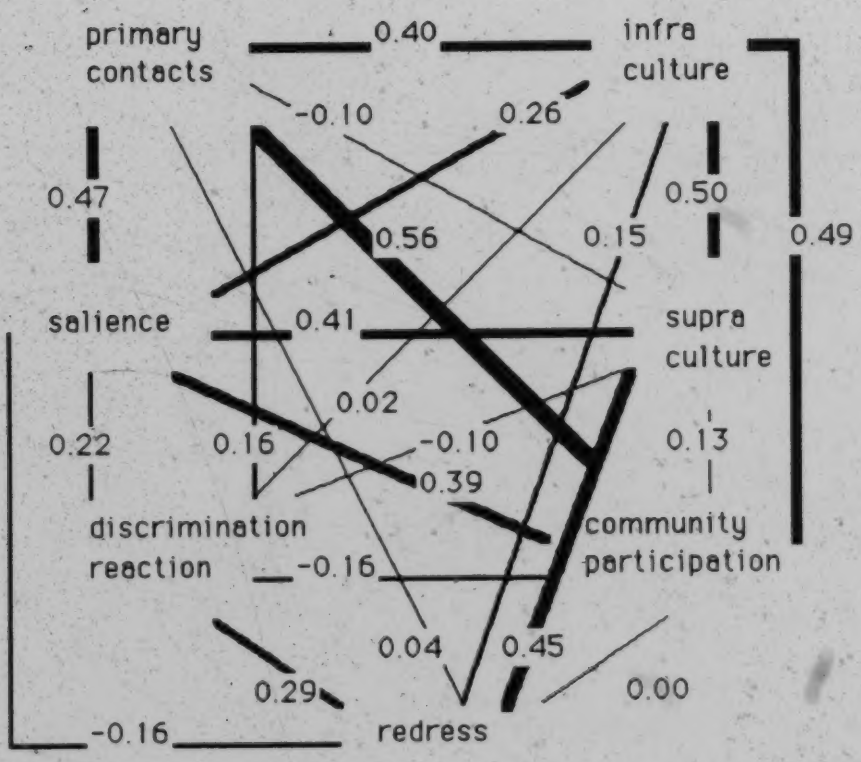


Figure V-10: Relationships to community participation (gamma) *Nisei*

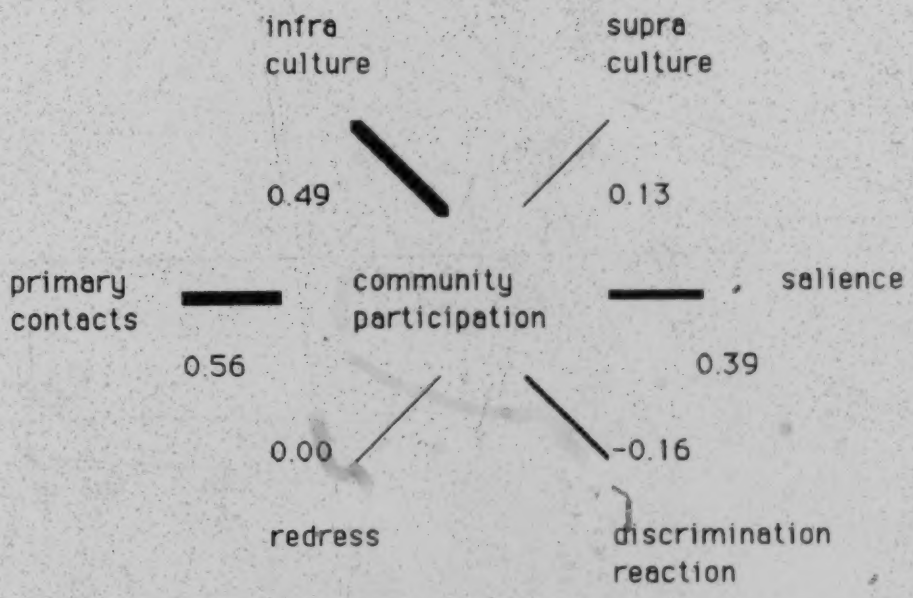
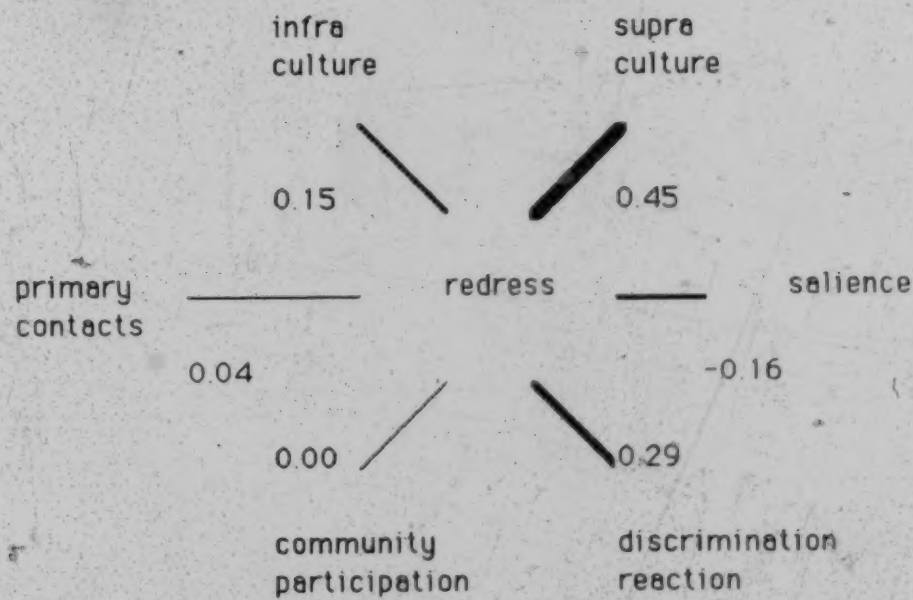


Figure V-11: Relationships to redress (gamma) *Nisei*



The links among primary contacts, infra culture, and community participation (gamma=0.62, 0.73, and 0.47 respectively) and the links among salience, supra culture, and redress (gamma=0.56, 0.42, and 0.56 respectively) remain basically the same for Sansei/Yonsei as for the zero-order relationships but are strengthened overall (see Figure V-12). The relationships between supra culture and each of infra culture and community participation increase to moderately positive (gamma=0.49 for both). In addition, the relationship between primary contacts and reaction to discrimination increases (gamma=0.46) and the relationship between infra culture and reaction to discrimination emerges (gamma=0.46). The relationship between infra culture and salience of ethnic identity greatly strengthens (gamma=0.92). In fact, strong salience of ethnic identity for Sansei/Yonsei relates to a high level of infra culture, supra culture and redress. Focusing on community participation, we find that primary contacts, supra culture, and especially infra culture have a substantial relationship with community participation (see Figure V-13). Focusing on redress, on the other hand, reveals that infra culture, supra culture, and especially salience of ethnic identity are connected to the device for redress (see Figure V-14).

Stronger relationships among ethnic identity indices are generally found among Sansei/Yonsei than Nisei although solid relationships among primary contacts, community participation and salience exist for Nisei (see Figure V-9 and Figure V-12).

The relationship between infra culture and discrimination reaction emerges (gamma=0.46) for Sansei/Yonsei. In a similar way the relationship between primary contacts and reaction to discrimination also increases (gamma=0.46) for Sansei/Yonsei. Unlike Nisei whose maintenance of Japanese primary contacts or infra culture means relatively little to an outward reaction to discrimination, Sansei/Yonsei who maintain Japanese primary contacts or infra culture tend to show an outward reaction to discrimination. Community participation and redress have no relationship among Nisei; similarly for Sansei/Yonsei the relationship is very weak but positive (gamma=0.09).

Figure V-12: Relationships among ethnic identity indices controlling for generation (gamma)

Sansei/Yonsei

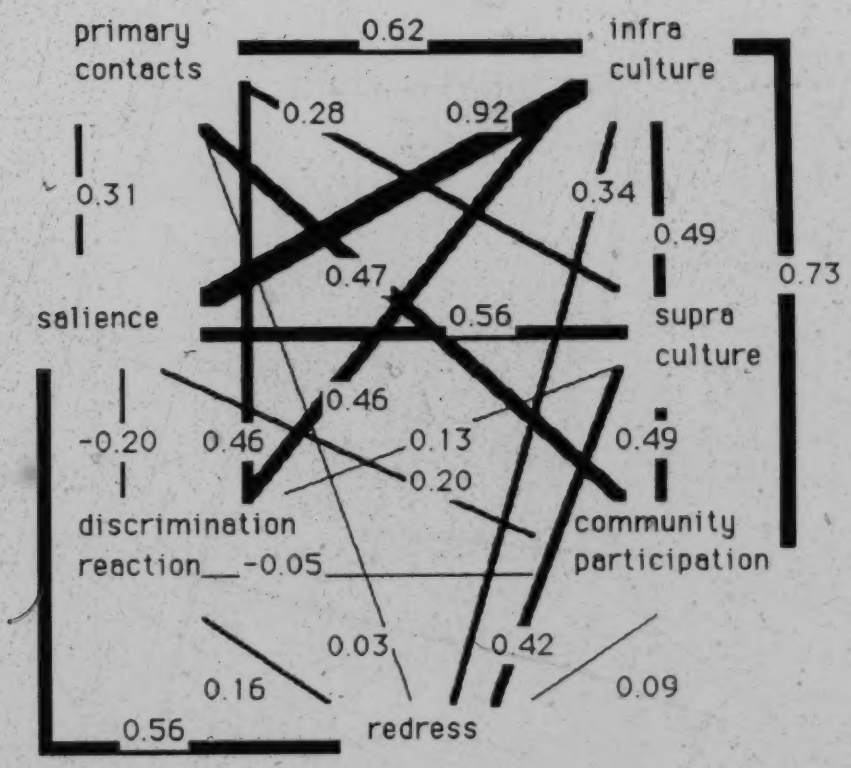


Figure V-13: Relationships to community participation (gamma) *Sansei/Yonsei*

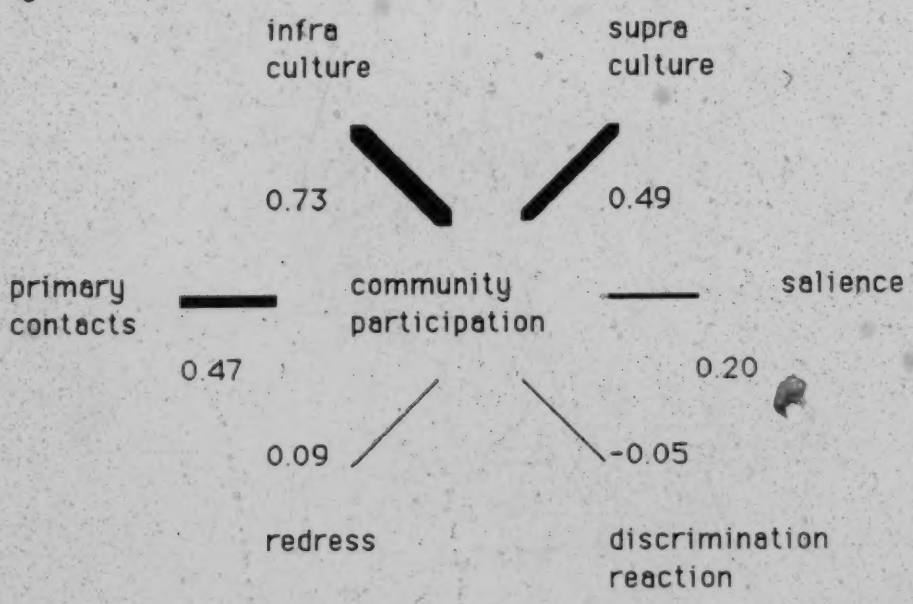
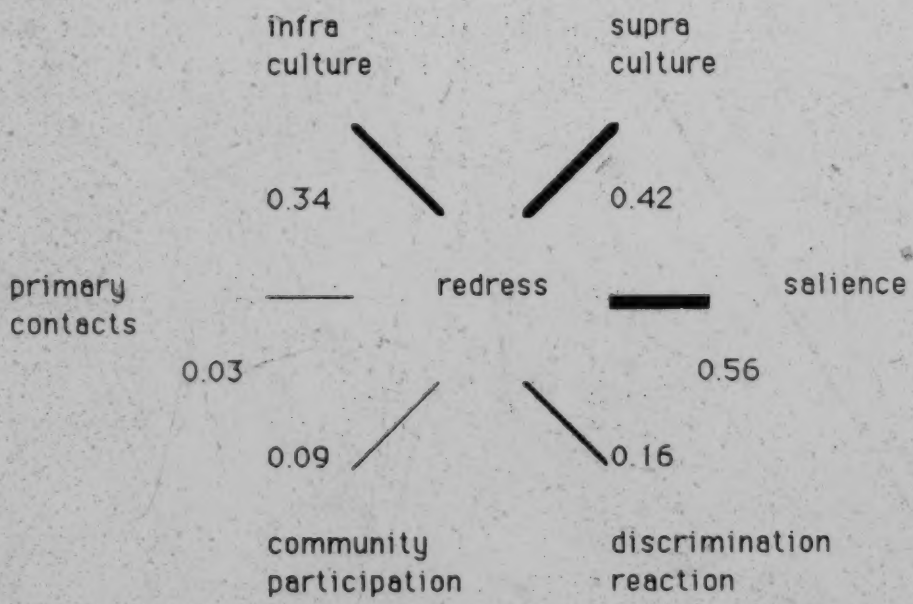


Figure V-14: Relationships to redress (gamma) *Sansei/Yonsei*



In four instances, the relationship between indices is reversed for Nisei and Sansei/Yonsei. First, the relationship between primary contacts and supra culture is negative among Nisei, whereas it is positive among Sansei/Yonsei, that is, a high level of primary contacts is likely to mean a low level of supra cultural identity among Nisei but is likely to mean a high level of supra cultural identity among Sansei/Yonsei. Second, the relationship between supra cultural identity and reaction to discrimination is negative among Nisei but is positive among Sansei/Yonsei, that is, a high level of supra culture is likely to lead to an inward reaction to discrimination among Nisei but is likely to lead to an outward reaction to discrimination among Sansei/Yonsei. Third, the relationship between salience and redress is negative among Nisei but positive and stronger among Sansei/Yonsei. The importance attached to one's Japanese heritage is unlikely to lead to support for redress among Nisei, but is likely to lead to support for redress among Sansei/Yonsei. A fourth reversed relationship is the one between salience of ethnic identity and reaction to discrimination. Salience of ethnic identity and reaction to discrimination have a weak positive relationship (gamma=0.22) among Nisei but they have a weak negative relationship (gamma=-0.19) among Sansei/Yonsei. This may indicate that individuals become more passive as the generation in Canada is longer. Or this may indicate that overt discrimination may be less common now than in pre-World War II years as Canadian society in general has become more aware of multiethnic reality of the society and less accepting of racism and consequently that such discrimination would not intrude on one's everyday life extensively. Alternatively, Sansei/Yonsei may tend to react outwardly to discrimination regardless of importance of Japanese heritage to them. It should also be noted that there are a number of individuals who responded "I have never been discriminated against" and thus did not answer the question on reaction to discrimination. In fact, 32.4% (66) of the total respondents did not respond to the question on reaction to discrimination.

A generational difference is found in the relationship between community participation and each of infra culture and supra culture which are much stronger among Sansei/Yonsei than among Nisei. Thus, community participation is mainly related to a high level of primary contacts, infra culture, and salience for Nisei; for Sansei/Yonsei community participation is mainly related to primary contacts, infra culture, and supra culture. Regarding redress a sharp generational difference is found in the relationship between salience and redress. For Nisei a high level of salience does not lead to redress, whereas for Sansei/Yonsei a high level of salience has the strongest relationship with redress. Comparing community participation with redress among Nisei, we find that a high level of salience is likely to lead to community participation but not redress, while a high level of discrimination reaction is likely to lead to redress but not community participation. For Sansei/Yonsei a high level of salience is not only related to community participation but also to redress.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

A. Conclusions

This study has examined the relationship between socio-economic status and ethnic identity among Japanese Canadians in Edmonton. Previous studies provide contradictory findings about the relationship between socio-economic status and ethnic identity. One factor that needs to be considered is the variety of meanings given to ethnic identity in the literature, although clearer specification of the concept has become possible as more empirical studies of ethnic identity became available. Generally, studies finding a negative relationship between ethnic identity and socio-economic status have focused on the traditional immigrant culture and way of life, while studies supporting a positive relationship have focused on the psychological and political aspects of ethnic identity.

Another factor that needs to be considered is the historical and social context for ethnic identity. Canada has historically adopted an ideology of Anglo-conformity wherein minorities were forced to assimilate into the dominant British culture and institutions. Particularly, in the case of visible minorities such as the Japanese, some groups were considered to be inassimilable, and thus, they were denied opportunity in the material and other spheres of society. The social climate has greatly changed since World War II. Although inequality still exists, greater egalitarianism prevails in Canada today as protection from discrimination is given in the Charter of Rights and the policy of multiculturalism promotes equality of status and culture of all ethnic groups.

In this study four aspects of ethnic identity were distinguished and the survey data were analyzed accordingly. It was hypothesized that among Japanese Canadians in the greater Edmonton area:

1. Individuals with higher socio-economic status would have lower ethnic identity in maintenance of primary contacts and cultural maintenance than individuals with lower socio-economic status.

2. Individuals with higher socio-economic status would have higher ethnic identity in ethnic self identification and associations and group rights than individuals with lower socio-economic status.

1. Conclusions from the Initial Analysis:

Components of Four Categories of Ethnic Identity

A first category - maintenance of primary contacts - examines the extent to which the individual's primary contacts were focused on other Japanese people. This included questions about whether their spouse, friends, and contacts were Japanese or not and whether they would wish their children to marry someone who was Japanese. Overall, a relatively low level of Japanese primary contacts is indicated in all the four items in this category. The level of primary contacts is lower among individuals with high education than those with low education except for Japanese contacts, whose level is higher among those with high education than among those with low education. Thus, for the majority of the respondents the core of primary group contacts - choice of the spouse and closest friends - are already non-Japanese and that parents show little preference for children's endogamy. This indicates a dissolution of contacts at a primary group level. The above trend is more evident among the more educated than the less educated. A contrary, positive relationship, however, exists between education and Japanese contacts. Compared to the choice of the spouse or best friends, Japanese contacts include a variety of more peripheral relationships such as contacts with relatives, contacts with friends, contacts for children's activities, contacts at club/association events, and contacts at work, which an individual may still maintain after achieving socio-economic status and establishing a non-Japanese primary group.

A second category - cultural maintenance - included questions about interest and involvement in Japanese culture, language knowledge and use, culinary traditions, and ceremonies. The majority of respondents were unable to speak Japanese. As O'Bryan *et al.* show, generational loss of a heritage language is a common phenomenon in Canada. Some of those respondents who knew the language did not speak it at all, perhaps because of limited opportunity to do so as primary group contacts are increasingly with non-Japanese. A low level of observance of ceremonial tradition may also relate to weak Japanese primary contacts. In contrast, culinary traditions were well maintained; as van den Berghe notes: "Often the last aspect of their culture that immigrant groups retain, long after they have lost use of their language, is distinctive cooking and foods" (1981: 260). Culinary traditions may be maintained because they are an aspect of Japanese culture which is not necessary to change to achieve social mobility and which can be maintained individually or even in non-Japanese relationships. Whereas the above items showed a negative relationship to education, items concerning interest and involvement in Japanese culture showed a positive relationship to education. This may support the idea that, among the middle-class, ethnicity usually concerns cultural interest unrelated to economic or political interest (Gans, 1979: 3; Reitz, 1980: 180). The meaning of interest and involvement in Japanese culture may, however, be different for each generation. For many second generation Japanese Canadians who were encultured in the Japanese culture, interest and involvement in Japanese culture means cultural maintenance. For many third generation Japanese Canadians who are strangers to the Japanese culture, cultural interest and involvement are indication of a "symbolic relation to ancestors' culture" as Isajiw suggests. Interest and involvement in Japanese culture may be promoted by the policy of multiculturalism. The contents of culture - arts, sports, and language etc. - are desirable aspects of expressive culture promoted by multiculturalism. Actual involvement in cultural activities is, however, low overall compared to the level of interest in their culture that the majority respondents

expressed. This pattern is explained by lack of commitment to ethnicity indicated by Gans's concept of "symbolic ethnicity" and by separation of attitudinal and behavioural indicators suggested by Weinfeld. As shown above, there are some components of Japanese culture which are lost with socio-economic achievement, and others which are strengthened with socio-economic achievement.

A third category - ethnic self identification - examines internal ethnic identity. Questions were asked about how the individuals defined and perceived themselves, whether their Japanese heritage was important to them, how they usually felt with non-Japanese, and how they had reacted to prejudice and discrimination. Most respondents indicated some form of Japanese self identity, agreed to the importance of Japanese heritage, and felt accepted by non-Japanese. Thus, the respondents generally appear to have "positive identity". The question on reaction to discrimination, however, reveals that more than half of the respondents who had experienced discrimination indicated inward reactions such as "I wished I were not Japanese" or "I felt that I just had to endure because there was not much I could do". This passive reaction is likely a product of historical experiences of Japanese Canadians in a subordinate status. Being a small minority with little political power, Japanese Canadians were forced to conform to the dominant British culture without being accepted by the larger society largely because of their racial characteristics. In this sense there was really not much Japanese Canadians could do. From another perspective, the extent of discrimination itself may have become insignificant in individuals' public lives recently. The fact that one third of the respondents answered "never discriminated against" is noteworthy here. Education relates positively to salience of ethnic identity and reaction to discrimination. Self identity labelling shows little correlation with education, which raises a question about the dimension of subjective identity expressed in the labels such as "I am a Canadian" or "I am a Japanese Canadian".

A fourth category included questions on views of and involvement in Japanese associations, multiculturalism and redress. More than half of the respondents had no membership in Japanese associations. Most of those who joined Japanese associations did so for friendship or cultural maintenance, while those who did not join them cited lack of time and interest as the reason for non-participation. Thus, Japanese associations appear to exist for only a part of the Japanese Canadians for a social or cultural purpose. For the rest of the Japanese Canadians, Japanese associations are not a significant part of their lives. Regarding multiculturalism and redress, as previously found in the items concerning interest and involvement in Japanese culture, Weinfeld's concept of disjunction between attitudinal indicators and behavioural indicators of ethnic identification applies. Despite the knowledge and a progressive view of multiculturalism and redress and thus awareness of their rights, a pattern of non-involvement is evident among the respondents. The low level of involvement in multiculturalism and redress may be an extension of the inward reaction against discrimination. Similarly, the majority of the respondents regard non-monetary components of redress such as acknowledgement and apology as most important rather than monetary compensation. The existence of Japanese associations mainly for matters in the private sphere of life and lack of involvement in activities in relation to the larger society, such as multiculturalism and redress, indicate the Japanese Canadians' distance from power, as Isajiw (1978: 37) and Reitz (1980: 228) have suggested about the relationship between ethnic group status and participation in the public sphere. All items in this category have a positive relationship with education except the redress component, which has little correlation with education, and the view of multiculturalism which has a negative relationship with education. The majority of the respondents with high education view multiculturalism as cultural maintenance or restoring of minority pride, whereas the majority of respondents with low education view it as assurance for equal rights. There is a view that the middle-class have cultural interests whereas the

working class have material interest, which is more evident in the U.S. than in Canada (Gans, 1979: 3; Reitz, 1980: 180). The data regarding their view of multiculturalism revealed that the Japanese Canadians take the above pattern. Individuals with high education may be concerned about cultural interest rather than material interest. However, one must note that the ethnic status of the Japanese in Canada may influence the pattern of behaviour of those who are most assimilated to the larger society. The power of the ethnic group itself may influence its action in the public sphere (Isajiw,1978: 36-7; Reitz, 1980: 228). Among Japanese Canadians some of those who have achieved socio-economically and are relatively comfortable may conform to the larger society and take a conservative position rather than fight for more equality because they feel they are not powerful enough to fight.

In sum, an overall low level of ethnic identity was found among the respondents. In topics such as Japanese culture, multiculturalism, and redress, which dealt with both attitudes and behaviour, a high level of knowledge of multiculturalism and redress, and of interest in culture, and redress as a natural right were expressed, while a low level of involvement in culture, multiculturalism, and redress issues was evident. Most respondents indicated some Japanese identity, attached importance to their heritage, and felt welcomed by non-Japanese. But for the majority, reaction to discrimination was inward and the passive attitude was also revealed in their preference for the non-monetary component of redress. The hypothesized relationships between socio-economic status and ethnic identity were generally supported by the data with some important exceptions. It is suggested that aspects of Japanese culture such as arts, sports, and language, which relate to education positively, are used as a means of expressing a symbolic relation to their ancestors' culture. Those with high education tend to view multiculturalism as cultural maintenance and the restoration of minority pride, whereas those with low education tend to view it as assurance of equal rights. A widely accepted but less politically aggressive view held by those with high education may

indicate a distance the Japanese Canadians have from the public sphere resulting from their low ethnic status in Canada (Isajiw, 1978; Reitz, 1980). Or it may support the view that the middle-class ethnic concern is culturally oriented and not economically or politically oriented (Gans, 1979; Reitz, 1980).

2. Conclusions from the Secondary Analysis: Seven Indices of Ethnic Identity

A preliminary analysis revealed that some items within an original category did not group together. Accordingly, they were regrouped before indices were constructed. The following five indices were constructed: "primary contacts", "infra culture", "supra culture", "community participation", and "redress". From the category of ethnic self identification, two items - "salience of ethnic identity" and "reaction to discrimination" - were employed as a single-item indices. Besides socio-economic status, another variable, generation, was introduced to better understand the relationship of socio-economic status with ethnic identity.

a) Relationships between education, generation, and ethnic identity indices

Education has positive relationships with all the indices except for infra culture and primary contacts. Infra culture and primary contacts are indicators of the traditional way of life. Thus, those with a bachelor's degree or higher have less traditional ethnic socio-cultural characteristics than those with less education. This would indicate greater assimilation occurs with increased socio-economic achievement. Higher education, however, enhances the other aspects of ethnic identity. Those with higher education have a higher level of subjective self identity both in terms of salience of ethnic identity and of reaction to discrimination. Similarly, group identity, that is, a disposition for redress and community participation, is increased. Supra culture

especially was higher for those with high education than for those with low education. Hence, indication of persistence of ethnicity with socio-economic achievement.

Compared to education, which exhibits a positive relationship to the majority of aspects of ethnic identity, generation has a negative relationship with all the indices except for reaction to discrimination and supra culture. With longer generation (family history) in Canada, assimilation is indicated not only in terms of the traditional socio-cultural characteristics of infra culture and primary contacts but also with respect to group identity including a disposition for redress and community participation as well as subjective self identity as measured by salience of ethnic identity. Two aspects of ethnic identity, reaction to discrimination and supra culture, are greater among Sansei/Yonsei than among Nisei. With the extensive assimilation indicated for the majority of aspects of ethnic identity, these two aspects may be a result of assimilation. Reaction to discrimination indicates an internalization of the Canadian value of justice. Supra culture may be a selected medium of "a symbolic relation to the culture of their ancestors" (Isajiw, 1980) based on a security of the third and fourth generations that their parents never had (Gans, 1979).

Elaboration of the bivariate relationships reveals the following. Education, compared to generation, has a relatively substantial effect on the following four indices. Supra culture and salience of ethnic identity relate positively to education regardless of generation. This supports the view of cultural interest of the middle-class (Gans, 1979), ethnic consciousness stimulated by social mobility (Breton *et al.*, 1977) and "affective ethnicity" among the better educated Canadian-born immigrant groups (Weinfeld, 1981). Another index - redress - relates to education positively but only among the third and fourth generations. Lastly, education relates to primary contacts negatively only among the third and fourth generations.

Generation, compared to education, has a relatively substantial effect on the following five indices. Generation relates negatively to infra culture and community

participation regardless of education, indicating loss of folkways and group ties as natural consequences of time as the assimilationist postulates. Generation relates negatively to primary contacts especially among those with high education. Generation relates negatively to redress, especially among those with low education. The above relationships show the assimilationist pattern. In contrast, Sansei/Yonsei are more likely than Nisei to have an outward reaction to discrimination, especially among those with low education.

The effect of socio-economic achievement on the loss or maintenance of ethnic identity, in fact, holds in a more limited areas than originally appeared. The strongest relationships with education occur for the indices of supra culture and salience of ethnic identity. The more favourable disposition for redress and increasing loss of primary contacts according to socio-economic achievement apply only to Sansei and Yonsei. The remaining indices are influenced more by generation than education.

b) Relationships among ethnic identity indices

The analysis also considered the relationships among ethnic identity indices. In general, three variables - primary contacts, infra culture and community participation - appear to relate closely together; three other variables - salience of ethnic identity, supra culture and redress also appear to relate closely together. Although not completely unrelated, these two realms of relationships appear distinctive. This suggests that traditional socio-cultural ties are maintained on the one hand, and that new forms of ethnicity exist on the other hand. The relationships among the indices, however, are found to vary according to specific conditions controlling for education or generation.

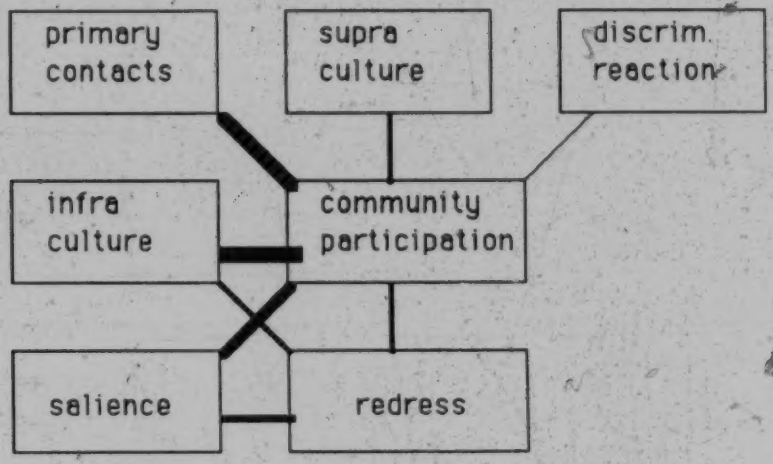
Among individuals with low education, community participation has positive relationships to all other indices and is especially supported by maintenance of primary contacts, maintenance of infra culture, and salience of ethnic identity, whereas redress has weaker or even negative relationships with other indices. Among individuals with

high education, redress has substantial positive relationships with all other indices, except community participation, whereas community participation is maintained if primary contacts, infra culture and supra culture are strong. But when salience of ethnic identity and reaction to discrimination are positive, they are not likely to participate in community but are likely to support redress. The meaning of ethnic identity appears to differ between those with low education and those with high education. In general terms, high ethnic identity is likely to mean community participation among those with low education, whereas it is likely to mean a favourable disposition for redress among those with high education (See Figure VI-1). Redress and community participation have only a weak positive relationship among those with low education and virtually no relationship among those with high education. This explains difficulty of redress movement as community participation does not necessarily mean active support for redress. Conversely individuals who support redress are not necessarily members of Japanese associations.

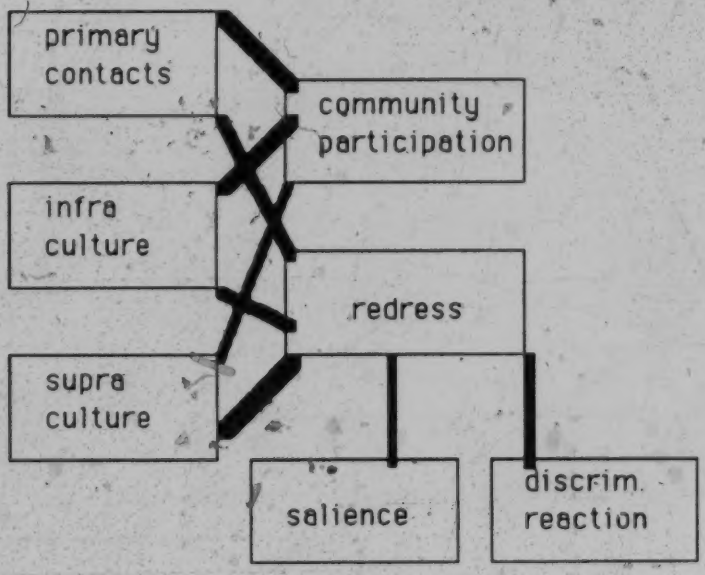
Among Nisei, community participation has substantial relationships to primary contacts, infra culture, and salience of ethnic identity, while redress has substantial relationships to supra culture and reaction to discrimination. Salience of ethnic identity relates positively to community participation but negatively to redress. Reaction to discrimination relates negatively to community participation but positively to redress. Thus, for Nisei, salience of ethnic identity and reaction to discrimination have different implications: the former for community participation and the latter for redress. Among Sansei/Yonsei community participation has substantial relationships with primary contacts, infra culture, and supra culture, while redress has substantial relationships to infra culture, supra culture, and salience of ethnic identity. Salience of ethnic identity has a stronger positive relationship to redress than it does to community participation among Sansei/Yonsei. Community participation and redress have no relationship among Nisei and a very weak positive relationship among Sansei/Yonsei

Figure VI-1: Summary relationships controlling for education (gamma=0.05 and greater)

low education



high education

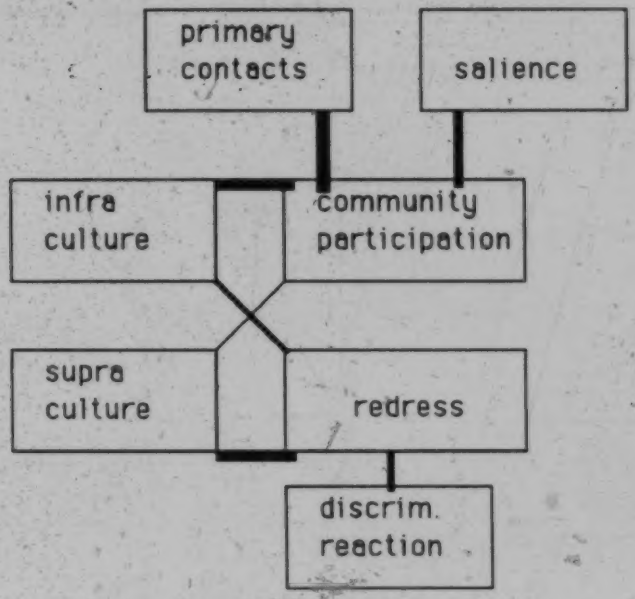


(See Figure VI-2). The patterns of ethnic identity are similar between generational groups, at least more similar than between educational groups. A major difference is, however, found between generational groups. For Nisei salience of ethnic identity relates negatively to redress, whereas for Sansei/Yonsei salience of ethnic identity relates positively to redress. Generally the object of salience of ethnic identity and outcome of reaction to discrimination mean community participation for those with low education, and they mean redress for those with high education. Reaction to discrimination is aimed at redress for both generational groups, but the object of salience of ethnic identity is community participation for Nisei and it is primarily redress for Sansei. These findings suggest that community participation and redress exist in separate realms and have different functions. The Japanese community in Edmonton is an ethnic group but not a *groupe nationalitaire* in Juteau-Lee's term (1984), as it lacks a political perspective.

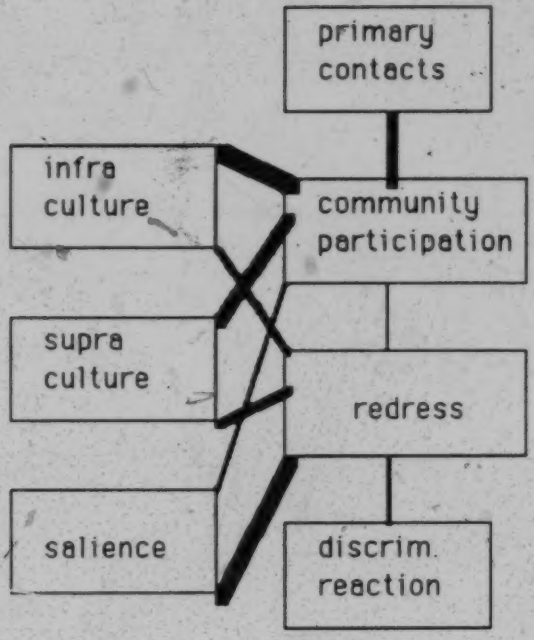
Socio-economic achievement relates to loss of traditional socio-cultural life of the Japanese Canadians in the study. Socio-economic achievement, however, enhances aspects of ethnic identity such as supra cultural identity, salience of ethnic identity, redress, reaction to discrimination, and community participation. Among those, socio-economic status appears to have substantial positive relationships with supra cultural identity and salience of ethnic identity.

The finding that supra cultural identity and salience of ethnic identity have substantial positive relationships with socio-economic status supports previous studies viewing ethnic identity perpetuated in the private sphere of life of individuals in a relatively egalitarian climate of cultural pluralism. According to Breton, cultural equality is implicated by the policy of multiculturalism (1984). Studies by Breton *et al.* (1977), Makabe (1978), Gans (1979) and Weinfeld (1981) suggest persistence of subjective ethnic identity after socio-economic achievement and/or generations after immigration. Gans calls the phenomenon of the concern with identity "symbolic

Figure VI-2: Summary relationships controlling for generation (gamma=0.05 and greater) *Nisei*



Sansei/Yonsei



ethnicity" (1979) and maintains that its function is expressive only. Isajiw calls it "a symbolic relation to the cultures of their ancestors" (1980: 23). Gans regards ethnic identity among the middle-class as based on cultural interests and not material interests.

Salience of ethnic identity and supra cultural identity for Japanese Canadians are not instrumental for material resources in society. Thus, the findings support the studies focusing on existence of non-material concern of ethnic group members. It is also evidence that those Japanese Canadians with high socio-economic status are secure enough to be able to seek their ethnic identity in the form of subjective identity and expressive high culture.

From another perspective, what is not as strongly related to socio-economic status as the above aspects raises a question. Studies by Glazer and Moynihan (1975), Juteau-Lee, and Strong indicate a political formation of ethnic groups. Darroch (1981) indicates persistence of ethnic communities, including ethnic politics, after cultural assimilation of individuals. Kordan explains that ethnic ties remain because community mobilization through collective action is the alternative to barriers confronting ethnic elites in society. And in Canada, middle-class ethnic cohesion does not exclude material concerns of the ethnic group (Reitz).

A disposition for redress and community participation, in fact, relate positively to socio-economic status. But they are not as evident as supra cultural identity or salience of ethnic identity. The weak political organization of Japanese Canadians in Edmonton may be explained in several ways. First, separation of redress issues from community participation is found in the analysis: community participation does not necessarily mean support for redress. Community participation appears to have a cultural focus, while redress, by definition, requires a political perspective. Second, experiences of severe discriminations such as disenfranchisement and exclusion may still serve as constraints agaist political participation of Japanese Canadians in society.

Opinions against redress within Japanese Canadians because of hopelessness and fear of backlash were not rare before the redress settlement. The finding that redress and socio-economic status relates positively among Sansei/Yonsei but negatively among Nisei may explain the extent of historical constraints. Third, the social standing of the Japanese is measured low relative to other ethnic groups in Canada (Pineo, 1977). According to the finding that low ethnic status hinders political participation (Reitz, 1980), weak political participation among Japanese Canadians may be explained with their low ethnic status in Canada. Thus, Japanese Canadians are more constrained in seeking political power than they are in seeking subjective identity and expressive high culture.

B. Limitations and Recommendations

1. Limitations

As the Japanese Canadian population in Edmonton was small and the response rate for a mail questionnaire was expected to be low, efforts were made to obtain as many respondents as possible. Most respondents were located in the telephone directory by their family names, but those Japanese Canadians who do not have Japanese names, largely because of intermarriage, were identified by other respondents. While those respondents with non-Japanese names were selected by their Japanese contacts, those who do not have Japanese contacts could not be identified. As a consequence, they are not represented in this study.

A self-administered questionnaire survey was employed as the method of observation for this study. In spite of many advantages, survey research presents its weakness on validity. According to Babbie: "In comparison with field research, for example, the artificiality of the survey format puts a strain on validity" (1986: 233). Responses to the questionnaire may not necessarily portray what the respondent really

is: responses are self-reports of the respondent's own attitudes and behaviour. Moreover, the survey itself may affect responses. Receiving a questionnaire may have made respondents especially conscious of the topic of ethnic identity, which they may not have thought much about before.

The present study attempted to examine the relationship between socio-economic status and ethnic identity. There are limitations to explaining ethnic identity. First, socio-economic status is a complex variable and the level of education employed in this study represents only one aspect of socio-economic status. Thus, the findings of the study are limited to the level of education as the indicator of socio-economic status. Second, education and generation, which were used in statistical analysis, are only two of the countless variables which may relate to ethnic identity. Thus, neither education nor generation should be taken to fully explain variations of ethnic identity. The social context, for example, appears to have an impact on one's ethnic identity. The data for the study were collected immediately before the redress settlement of 22 September 1988. Since the redress settlement, community activities and interaction among Japanese Canadians appear to have increased. The redress settlement itself may be as important a factor to ethnic identity of an individual as socio-economic status or generational status is.

2. Recommendations

Among the respondents, the relationships of education to expressive high culture and salience of ethnic identity are stronger than relationships of education to a disposition for redress and community participation. An exploration for the above findings was formulated. It is suggested that emphasis on individual self identity and cultural interest rather than organized action among those with high education is an indication of middle-class concern over non-material resources, or a sign of low ethnic status of the Japanese Canadians. Further studies are needed to clarify the point. A

qualitative research method such as participant observation may shed light on the process of ethnic identity. Or a comparative study may identify if the above tendency is particular to the pre-World War II Japanese immigrants and their descendants in Edmonton. Comparison with members of other ethnic groups in Edmonton may reveal the particular characteristics of the Japanese Canadians. Comparison with Japanese Canadians in other locations in Canada may reveal the particular situation in Edmonton. And a comparison with Japanese emigrants and their descendants in countries other than Canada, such as the U.S.A. and Brazil, may reveal the particular Canadian situation.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Cover Letters

Dear

In recent years members of many ethnic groups in Canada have become concerned about their identity, their culture and language, and their rights. I would like to gather information on these questions from **Canadian citizens or landed immigrants of Japanese descent who are 16 years or older** living in the greater Edmonton area. This research is conducted as part of my graduate studies at the University of Alberta.

Your name was selected from the City of Edmonton Telephone Directory together with the University of Alberta Students' Union Directory and the membership lists of Japanese associations in Edmonton.

I have not asked for your name on the questionnaire. This will insure that your answers will be anonymous. Information from you and 1,000 others will be used for statistical analysis only and no individual will be identified by his/her answers. The return envelope has a number which will allow me to telephone those people who forget to return their questionnaires.

In order that the results will truly represent the views of the Canadians of Japanese descent in the greater Edmonton area, it is important that each questionnaire be completed and returned. When you are finished, please mail the questionnaire(s) in the enclosed stamped envelope to:

Yoko Nakahara
Department of Educational Foundations
The University of Alberta
Edmonton T6G 2G5

I would be glad to answer any questions regarding this questionnaire. If you have questions, please call me at 439-6444.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Yoko Nakahara

Dear

In recent years members of many ethnic groups in Canada have become concerned about their identity, their culture and language, and their rights. I would like to gather information on these questions from **Canadian citizens or landed immigrants of Japanese descent who are 16 years or older** living in the greater Edmonton area. This research is conducted as part of my graduate studies at the University of Alberta.

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Two questionnaires are enclosed. Please complete **one** questionnaire yourself. If you have any children16 years or older living at home, please have one of them fill out the **other** questionnaire.

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Two questionnaires are enclosed. It is important to have about the same number of men and women participating in this study. Thus, I would like **one** questionnaire for your household to be completed by an adult female of Japanese descent. If none is present, then it should be completed by an adult male of Japanese descent. If you have any children16 years or older living at home, please have one of them fill out **the other** questionnaire.

In order that the results will truly represent the views of the Canadians of Japanese descent in the greater Edmonton area, it is important that each questionnaire be completed and returned. When you are finished, please mail the questionnaire(s) in the enclosed stamped envelope to:

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Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Yoko Nakahara

Appendix B. Questionnaire

Questionnaire

Please fill in or circle the answer that applies to you.
Circle only one answer unless otherwise specified.

Could you please give me some background information about yourself?

1. When did you first come to the greater Edmonton area (to stay)?

   _____(year)

2. Where did you live most of the time until age sixteen?

   1. Edmonton
   2. Calgary
   3. Lethbridge
   4. Vancouver
   5. Japan
   6. Other(specify)_____ _____ _____
      (town) (province/state) (country)

3. How long has your family lived in Canada? Indicate the year of immigration if known.

   1. I immigrated into Canada in _____(year) and I am a landed immigrant of Canada.
   2. I immigrated into Canada in _____(year) and I am a citizen of Canada.
   3. My parents immigrated into Canada in_____(year).
   4. My grandparents immigrated into Canada in _____(year).
   5. My great-grandparents immigrated into Canada in _____(year).
   6. Other(specify)_____

4. I am:

   1. female
   2. male

5. How old are you?

   _____years old

6. What is your current marital status?

   1. now married
   2. common-law
   3. separated
   4. divorced
   5. widowed
   6. single-never married/common-law[GO TO QUESTION 9]

7. Is/Was your married or common-law partner Japanese?

   1. Yes.
   2. No.

8. How many children do you have? Indicate the number_____

9. Would you wish(Have you wished) your child to marry a person of Japanese descent?

   1. Yes.
   2. I am not sure.
   3. No, it does not matter.
   9. Not applicable.

10. What is the highest level of formal education that you have completed?

    01. some elementary school
    02. finished elementary school
    03. some junior high school
    04. finished junior high school
    05. some high school
    06. finished high school
    07. some technical college
    08. attending/finished technical college
    09. some university
    10. attending/finished university

    Please specify degrees_____

Circle only one answer unless otherwise specified.

11. What is your occupation(including student and housekeeper)? If you are retired or unemployed, what was your last occupation?(specify)

What do/did you do?

(job title)_____

What kind of place do/did you work for?

(industry)_____

12. What was/is your father's occupation?(specify)

What does/did he do?

(job title)_____

What kind of place does/did he work for?

(industry)_____

13. Would you tell me which number comes closest to the total income of all the members of this household for this past year?

01.	under $5,000	06.	$40,000 - $49,999
02.	$5,000 - $9,999	07.	$50,000 - $59,999
03.	$10,000 - $19,999	08.	$60,000 - $69,999
04.	$20,000 - $29,999	09.	$70,000 - $79,999
05.	$30,000 - $39,999	10.	$80,000 and up

14. What is your religious preference?

1. Christian
2. Buddhist
3. No preference/affiliation
4. Other(please specify)_____

15. Which of the following best describes how you define your ethnicity?

1. I am a Japanese.
2. I am a Canadian-Japanese.
3. I am a Japanese-Canadian.
4. I am a Canadian.
5. Other(specify)_____

16. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement?

"My Japanese heritage is important to me."

Strongly disagree				Strongly agree	Don't know
1	2	3	4	5	8

17. For each of the following please check the column that indicates how often you meet people of Japanese descent in Edmonton.

	once a week or more	once a month or more	less than once a month	not applicable
1. relatives	____	____	____	____
2. friends	____	____	____	____
3. for children's activities	____	____	____	____
4. at club/association events	____	____	____	____
5. at work	____	____	____	____
6. other(specify)_____	____	____	____	____

18. Please think of the three closest friends whom you see most often or feel closest to. Is any one of them of Japanese descent?

1. Yes.
2. No.

Circle only one answer unless otherwise specified.

19. Are you interested in aspects of the Japanese culture such as arts, language and sports?

1. Yes, I am very much interested in the Japanese culture.
2. Yes, I have some interest in the Japanese culture.
3. No, I am not particularly interested in the Japanese culture.

20. What is/was your involvement in Japanese arts, language, sports etc.? **(circle all that apply and indicate lessons if any)**

1. My parents enrolled me in lessons:_____

_____

2. I enrolled myself in lessons:_____

_____

3. I enrolled my children in lessons:_____

_____

4. I attended Japanese films, performances, exhibitions etc.

5. Other(specify)_____

21. How often do you eat Japanese foods at home?

1. Seldom
2. A few times a year
3. Once a month or more
4. Once a week or more

22. Do you observe any Japanese ceremonies, festivals or holidays?

1. Yes, on a number of occasions during the year.
2. Yes, once or twice a year.
3. No.

23. Can you speak Japanese?

1. Yes
2. No. [GO TO QUESTION 25]

24. Please check the column that indicates how often you speak Japanese with each of the following people.

	every-day	once a week or more	less than once a week	not applicable
1. grandparents	___	___	___	___
2. parents	___	___	___	___
3. sisters/brothers	___	___	___	___
4. wife/husband	___	___	___	___
5. friends	___	___	___	___
6. children	___	___	___	___
7. grandchildren	___	___	___	___
8. other_____ (specify)	___	___	___	___

25. Were you brought up outside Japan?

1. I was brought up outside Japan.
2. I was brought up in Japan. [GO TO QUESTION 28]

26. If you were brought up outside Japan, were you encouraged to speak Japanese at home?

1. Yes.
2. Sometimes.
3. No.

27. If you were brought up outside Japan, did your family have close contacts with other Japanese people?

1. Yes
2. No.

Could you please answer some questions about your activities?

28. What Japanese associations, organizations, clubs, schools, churches etc. are you a member of and what do you do?

Name of Association (specify & do not abbreviate)	Your Involvement (circle one for each association)
_____	1. organizer, executive member 2. teacher, regularly active member 3. occasional volunteer helper 4. general member, subscriber
_____	1. organizer, executive member 2. teacher, regularly active member 3. occasional volunteer helper 4. general member, subscriber
_____	1. organizer, executive member 2. teacher, regularly active member 3. occasional volunteer helper 4. general member, subscriber
_____	1. organizer, executive member 2. teacher, regularly active member 3. occasional volunteer helper 4. general member, subscriber

Circle only one answer unless otherwise specified.

29. If you are involved with Japanese associations, which of the following best explains why you are involved ?

I am involved with Japanese associations:

1. because they provide friendship and support.
2. because they help me maintain my Japanese culture and heritage.
3. because they support my rights as a Canadian citizen/ landed immigrant.
4. other(specify)_____

30. If you are not involved with Japanese associations, which of the following best explains why you are not involved ?

I am not involved with Japanese associations:

1. because I do not think Japanese people should stick together.
2. because I am not interested in activities and events in the associations.
3. because I am too busy with work and other activities.
4. because I do not like the decisions and directions of the associations.
5. other(specify)_____

31. What other (non-Japanese) associations, organizations, clubs, churches, unions etc. are you a member of and what do you do?

Name of Association (specify & do not abbreviate)	Your Involvement (circle one for each association)
_____	1. organizer, executive member 2. teacher, regularly active member 3. occasional volunteer helper 4. general member, subscriber
_____	1. organizer, executive member 2. teacher, regularly active member 3. occasional volunteer helper 4. general member, subscriber
_____	1. organizer, executive member 2. teacher, regularly active member 3. occasional volunteer helper 4. general member, subscriber
_____	1. organizer, executive member 2. teacher, regularly active member 3. occasional volunteer helper 4. general member, subscriber

Circle only one answer unless otherwise specified.

Could you please give your opinions about multiculturalism and redress?

32. Which of the following best describes what multiculturalism means to you?

1. I know little about multiculturalism. [GO TO QUESTION 34]
2. cultural maintenance and sharing.
3. restoring the pride of minority groups.
4. assurance of equal rights for all Canadians and protection against prejudice and discrimination.
5. other(specify)_____

33. What is your involvement with multiculturalism?

1. I am against the multiculturalism policy and have no involvement with it.
2. I support the policy but have little involvement with it.
3. I am involved with the multiculturalism policy and activities.

34. Which of the following best describes what redress means to you?

1. I know little about the redress issue. [GO TO 37]
2. an unnecessary opening of old wounds.
3. an opportunity to fight racism in Canada.
4. an affirmation of our pride as Japanese Canadians.
5. a recognition of my natural rights as a Canadian.

35. What is your involvement in redress?

1. I am against redress. We should just forget.
2. I have no strong feelings about redress one way or the other.
3. I support redress, but I have little involvement in the movement.
4. I have been to some meetings and talked to others, but I am not otherwise involved.
5. I am deeply involved in seeking redress.

36. Which is the most important component of redress for you?

1. the establishment of a foundation to fight racism.
2. an acknowledgement and apology for the injustices done on Japanese Canadians.
3. non-monetary compensation such as legislative change to prevent a recurrence, citizenship recovery to expelled Japanese Canadians and clearing of criminal records under the War Measures Act.
4. community monetary compensation to be used for activities in the Japanese community.
5. individual monetary compensation for confiscated property, forced relocation and lost opportunity.
6. other(specify)

_____

_____

Could you please answer questions about your experiences?

37. In everyday contacts with non-Japanese which of the following best describes how you usually feel?

1. I am welcomed: people give me positive attention because I am Japanese.
2. I am accepted: being Japanese does not affect the way others treat me.
3. I am often ignored because I am Japanese.
4. Others are sometimes hostile to me because I am Japanese.

38. Have you experienced any discrimination in Canada because you are Japanese?**(circle all that apply)**

1. The family of my friend/date did not accept me.
2. I could not get into certain circles or clubs.
3. I could not get the position or promotion I was eligible for.
4. I could not get the proper service in stores, offices etc.
5. I was called a JAP or other names.
6. My legal rights were denied.
7. Other(specify)_____
8. I have never been discriminated against.[GO TO 40]

Circle only one answer unless otherwise specified.

39. Which of the following best describes how you felt as a consequence of prejudice or discrimination?

1. I wished I were not Japanese.
2. I felt that I just had to endure because there was not much I could do.
3. I felt angry toward the people who discriminated against me.
4. I felt like defending my heritage.

40. Who in your family were forcibly excluded from the Pacific Coast during and after World War II? **(circle all that apply)**

1. my grandparents(in-law)
2. my parents(in-law)
3. my sisters or brothers(in-law)
4. my children
5. my wife/husband
6. myself
7. None of my family suffered the evacuation.[GO TO QUESTION 42]

41. In which of the following places did you/your family spend time between 1941 and 1949?**(circle all that apply)**

1. [unable to return from] Japan
2. [employment] east of the Rockies
3. road camp
4. Hastings Park
5. relocation camp
6. B. C. self-supporting site
7. prisoner of war camp
8. sugar beet farm
9. [deported to] Japan
10. other(specify)_____

_____

42. Please describe your experiences as a person of Japanese descent in Canada. Is there a time in your life when your view of your Japanese heritage changed? Are there incidents that made you aware of your Japanese heritage? (Please feel free to respond in either English or Japanese.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for taking the time to respond.

I need as many respondents as possible for this research. Do you know any Canadians of Japanese descent who are married to non-Japanese(and thus unidentifiable by their family names)? It would be appreciated very much if you could provide their names, addresses and telephone numbers in the space below.

name address telephone number

_____

_____

_____

_____

Appendix C. Tables

Table C-1: Relationships among components of ethnic identity in maintenance of primary contacts

	gamma
spouse Japanese---wish child marry Japanese	0.78
spouse Japanese---Japanese contacts	-0.06
spouse Japanese---friend Japanese	0.51
wish child marry Japanese---Japanese contacts	-0.09
wish child marry Japanese---friend Japanese	0.08
Japanese contacts---friend Japanese	0.48

Table C-2: Relationships among components of ethnic identity in cultural maintenance

	gamma
Japanese culture interest---Japanese culture involvement as an adult	0.37
Japanese culture interest---Japanese culture involvement as a parent	0.37
Japanese culture interest---Japanese foods	0.29
Japanese culture interest---Japanese ceremonies	0.51
Japanese culture interest---can speak Japanese	0.50
Japanese culture interest---speak with	0.48
Japanese culture involvement as an adult ---Japanese culture involvement as a parent	0.32
Japanese culture involvement as an adult---Japanese foods	0.01
Japanese culture involvement as an adult---Japanese ceremonies	0.22
Japanese culture involvement as an adult---can speak Japanese	-0.03
Japanese culture involvement as an adult---speak with	0.02
Japanese culture involvement as a parent---Japanese foods	0.64
Japanese culture involvement as a parent---Japanese ceremonies	0.37
Japanese culture involvement as a parent---can speak Japanese	0.21
Japanese culture involvement as a parent---speak with	0.33
Japanese foods---Japanese ceremonies	0.56
Japanese foods---can speak Japanese	0.55
Japanese foods---speak with	0.70
Japanese ceremonies---can speak Japanese	0.39
Japanese ceremonies---speak with	0.45
can speak Japanese---speak with	0.98

Table C-3: Relationships among components of ethnic identity in ethnic self identification

	gamma
self identity labelling---ethnic identity salience	0.00
self identity labelling---reaction to discrimination	-0.03
ethnic identity salience---reaction to discrimination	-0.04

Table C-4: Relationships among components of ethnic identity in association and group rights

	gamma
why Japanese association---why not Japanese association	0.12
why Japanese association---multiculturalism view	0.11
why Japanese association---redress view	0.33
why Japanese association---Japanese association	-0.12
why Japanese association---multiculturalism involvement	0.31
why Japanese association---redress involvement	0.14
why Japanese association---redress component	0.16
why not Japanese association---multiculturalism view	0.02
why not Japanese association---redress view	0.08
why not Japanese association---Japanese association	-0.10
why not Japanese association---multiculturalism involvement	0.64
why not Japanese association---redress involvement	0.16
why not Japanese association---redress component	0.19
multiculturalism view---redress view	0.43
multiculturalism view---Japanese association	0.06
multiculturalism view---multiculturalism involvement	-0.29
multiculturalism view---redress involvement	0.20
multiculturalism view---redress component	0.19
redress view---Japanese association	0.11
redress view---multiculturalism involvement	0.18
redress view---redress involvement	0.72
redress view---redress component	0.36
Japanese association---multiculturalism involvement	0.58
Japanese association---redress involvement	0.29
Japanese association---redress component	-0.03
multiculturalism involvement---redress involvement	0.79
multiculturalism involvement---redress component	0.06
redress involvement---redress component	0.33

Table C-5: Item analysis for primary cnstacts index

gamma	primary contacts
spouse Japanese	0.85
wish child marry Japanese	0.75
Japanese contacts	0.79
friend Japanese	0.95

Table C-6: Item analysis for supra culture index

gamma	supra culture
Japanese culture interest	0.62
Japanese culture involvement as an adult	0.93
Japanese culture involvement as a parent	0.96

Table C-7: Item analysis for infra culture index

gamma	infra culture
Japanese foods	0.77
Japanese ceremonies	0.65
can speak Japanese	0.98
speak with	1.00

Table C-8: Item analysis for community participatin index

gamma	community participation
Japanese association	1.00
multiculturalism involvement	1.00

Table C-9: Item analysis for redress index

gamma	redress
redress view	0.96
redress involvement	0.94
redress component	0.89